

FRANKLIN'S BAGATELLES.

BY J. C. ROSENGARTEN.

(Read May 17, 1901.)

The Philosophical Society has in its Library seventy-six folio volumes of Franklin's Papers. From these I have had made by Miss Harjes, of the Library staff, exact copies of some of the very rare Bagatelles, and some of the correspondence referring to them. The papers thus collected include :

1. An unfinished draught, in Franklin's handwriting, of "The Deform^d and Handsome Leg" (Vol. 50, No. 40).

2. "The Ephemera," in French (Vol. 50, No. 39).

3. A letter to Mme. Brillon from Franklin about his "Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout" (Vol. 46, No. 44—the volume is labeled "Letters from Franklin to his Wife—1755-1774").

4. The "Story of the Whistle," with the English version dated Passy, Nov. 16, 1779, and the French version, the former on the right, the latter on the left side of the pages, and both with many corrections (Vol. 45, No. 149½).

5. A letter from Franklin, in French, to an unknown correspondent, dated Passy, April 8, 1784: "I send you 'Advice to those who wish to go to America' and 'Remarks on the Politeness of Savages.' If you have 'The Handsome and Deform^d Leg' and 'The Morals of Chess,' with those I now send you, you have a complete collection of all my Bagatelles printed at Passy" (Vol. 45, No. 181).

6. "Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout," in French, with numerous corrections in the text and marginal notes (Vol. 50, No. 36).

7. Extracts from 115 letters from Mme. Brillon to Franklin and some of his in reply (Vols. 43 and 47), many relating to the French versions of his Bagatelles, etc., with a press copy of his letter to her of November 23, 1784, and an original of his letter to her undated; one from her about the surrender of Cornwallis, who, she says, had been Burgoyne'd by the Americans, and his answer, dated Passy, December 25, 1781, both in French.

Her letters compliment him on his capital French, and make frequent references to his Bagatelles, *e. g.*:

8. Vol. 43, No. 77, and particularly—

9. Vol. 43, No. 87—"Exercise in French, No. 5," "Letter to Mme. B. transcrib'd and corrected by her," in Franklin's handwriting, and her comments, No. 98.

10. Vol. 43, No. 116—"Plaidoyer pour Mme. Brillon contre M. Benjamin Franklin."

11. Vol. 45, No. 180—Franklin's letter in French to Mme. Brillon.

12. Vol. 22, No. 8—Miss Shipley's acknowledgment, dated May 6, 1781, of a copy of "The Dialogue between F. and the Gout."

13. Vol. 32, No. 51—Carmichael's letter, Madrid, July 9, 1784, saying that F.'s "little works" will soon appear in a Spanish dress, followed by a letter—

14. Vol. 32, No. 63—from Count Campomanes, dated Madrid, July 26, '84, thanking F. for the gift received through Carmichael.

15. Temple Franklin's Letters to his Father (Vol. 32, Nos. 95 and 133).

16. Vol. 34, No. 167—Miss Shipley, November 13, 1784, with thanks for "The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams," and asking "where F. read that Methusalah slept in the open air? I have searched the Bible in vain to find it."

17. Vol. 44, No. 12—"The Intended Speech for the Opening of the first session of the present Parliament, viz., Nov. 29, 1774," endorsed "D. Hartley, Oct. 3, '86."

18. Vaughan's letter of April 28, 1778 (Vol. 9, No. 93)—Letters to Franklin, April—May, 1778.

In adding Vaughan's letter of April 28, '78, I call attention to the value and importance of his correspondence; he and Hartley were among Franklin's English friends, who through all the period of the Revolution kept him well informed as to the trend of parties and public opinion in England. Authentic reports of Chatham's famous last speech are very rare, and a Calendar of the Franklin Papers would enable historical students to refer to them for much valuable information. The printing of these papers by this Society will, I am sure, invite attention to the large amount of valuable material now practically hidden away in this collection, needing only a Calendar to make it available and useful to students. It may be said that the Department of State has never yet printed any Calendar of the Collection of Franklin Papers bought by the Government of the United States from Stevens. It is roughly

estimated that they are in bulk about one-fourth, those in the collection of the Philosophical Society—about three-fourths of all the papers left by Franklin. The Government collection is largely made up of State Papers used by Temple Franklin in his publication of his grandfather's works; those here are largely personal papers, many of them perhaps thought by Temple Franklin not worthy of printing, yet in them there is that personal note which gives us Franklin as he was in the palmy days at Paris, where he filled so large a place in the public eye.

THE DEFORM'D AND HANDSOME LEG.¹

There are two Sorts of People in the World, who with equal Degrees of Health, & Wealth, and the other Comforts of Life [are] *become*, the one happy, and the other [Unhappy] *miserable*.—This arises very much [solely] from [In almost ever] the different *views* in which they consider Things, Persons & Events; and the Effect of those different Views upon their *own* Minds.

In whatever Situation [a] Men can be plac'd, they [will] *may* find Conveniences & Inconveniencies: In whatever Company; they [will] *may* find Persons & Conversations more or less pleasing. At whatever Table, they [will find] *may meet with* Meats & *drinks* of better and worse Taste, [things] *Dishes* better & worse dress'd: In whatever Climate they will find good and bad Weather; Under whatever Government, they [will] *may* find good and bad Laws, and good and bad Administration of those Laws. *In every Poem or Work of Genius they may see Faults & Beauties*: In every Face they may discover [Beauties] *fine Features* & Defects, good & bad Qualities. Under these Circumstances, the two Sorts of People [I have] *above* mention'd fix their Attention, those who are to be happy, on the [convenient] *Conveniencies of Things*, the pleasant Parts of Conversation, the well-dress'd Dishes, the Goodness of the Wines, the [agreeable] *fine* Weather; [the] &c. &c. *and enjoy all with Cheerfulness*. Those who are to be unhappy, think & *speak* only of the contraries. Thence they are continually discontented themselves, and by their Remarks sour the Pleasures of Society, *offend* [*disgust*] *personally many people*, and make themselves [where] every where disagreeable.

If this [different] Turn of Mind was founded in Nature, such unhappy [*People*] *Persons* would be the more to be pitied: But as th[at]e Disposition to criticise & be disgusted, is perhaps taken up originally by Imitation, and is unawares grown into a Habit; [and] which tho' at present *strong* may *nevertheless* be cured when those who have it are convinced of its

¹ Erasures in the manuscripts are shown by being placed between []. Insertions are printed in *italics*.

bad Effects on their [Happiness] *Felicity* ; I hope [a] *this* little Admonition may be of Service to them,—and put them on changing a Habit, which tho' in the Exercise is [merely] *chiefly* an Act of Imagination yet it has serious Consequences in Life : [To] *as it* brings on real *Griefs & Misfortunes* : For as *many* [have been] *are offended by, &c.* no body *well* loves this Sort of People, no one shows them more than the most common.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 50.*

AVERTISSEMENT.

Madame B. Est une Dame fort aimable et qui possède un Talent distingué pour la Musique ; Elle demeure à Passy où elle est en Société avec M^r. Franklin, ils avoient dans l'Été de 1778 Été passés ensemble une Journée au Moulin Joly où ce même Jour Voltigeoit sur la Riviere un Essaim de ces petites Mouches que l'on nomme Ephemeres le que le Peuple appelle de la Manne. M^r. Franklin les examina avec attention et envoya le lendemain à M^{de}. B. la Lettre dont voicy la Traduction.

Vous pouvez, ma chere Amie, vous rappelez que, lorsque nous passames dernièrement cette heureuse Journée dans les Jardins délicieux et la douce Société du Moulin Joly, je m'arretai dans une des Promenades que nous fimes et que je laissai la Compagnie la continuer quelque temps sans moi.

On nous avoit montré un nombre infini de Cadavres d'une Espece de Mouche que l'on nomme Ephemere dont on nous dit que toutes les générations successives étoient nées et mortes dans le même Jour. Il m'arriva d'en remarquer sur une feuille une Compagnie Vivante qui faisoit la conversation.

Vous savez que j'entends tous les Langages des Espèces inférieures à la nôtre, ma trop grande application à leur Etude est la meilleur Excuse que je puisse donner du peu de progres que j'ai fait dans votre Langue charmante ; La Curiosité me fit écouter les propos de ces petites Créatures, mais la Vivacité propre à leur Nation les faisant parler trois ou quatre a la fois, Je ne pus tirer presque rien de leurs discours. Je compris cependant par quelque Expressions interrompues que je saisissois de temps en temps qu'ils dispuoient avec Chaleur Sur le mérite de Deux Musiciens Etrangers l'un Cousin et l'autre un Bourdon. Ils passaient leur temps dans ces Debats avec l'air de Songer aussi peu à la brieveté de la Vie que S'ils en avoient été assurés pour un mois. Heureux Peuple me dis-je, vous vivez certainement sous un Gouvernement Sage Equitable et moderé, puisqu'aucun grief public n'excite vos plaintes et que vous n'avez de Sujet de Contestation que la perfection où l'imperfection d'une Musique Etrangere.

Je les quittai pour me tourner vers un Vieillard a Cheveux Blancs qu

Seul Sur une autre feuille Se parloit à lui même. Son Soliloque m'amusa, Je l'ai écrit dans l'Espérance qu'il amusera de même celle à qui je dois le plus Sensible des plaisirs, Celui des Charmes de Sa Société et de l'harmonie celeste des Sons qui naissent Sous Sa main.

“ C'étoit disoit-je l'opinion des Savans philosophes de notre Race
 “ qui ont vécu et fleuri longtems avant le présent âge, que ce Vaste
 “ monde (le Moulin Joly) ne pouroit pas lui même Subsister plus de Dix
 “ huit heures, et je pense que cette opinion n'étoit pas Sans fondement,
 “ puisque par le mouvement apparent du grand Luminaire qui donne la
 “ Vie à toute la nature et qui de mon tems a d'une maniere Sensible
 “ considerablement décliné vers l'ocean² qui borne cette Terre, Il faut qu'il
 “ termine Son Cours à cette Epoque, S'eteigne dans les Eaux qui nous
 “ Environnent Et livre le monde à des glaces et des Ténèbres qui
 “ ameneront nécessairement une morte et une destruction universelle,
 “ J'ai vécu Sept heures dans ces dix huit ; C'est un grand age, ce n'est
 “ moins de 420 Minutes, Combien peu d'entre nous parviennent aussi
 “ loin ? J'ai vu des générations naître, fleurir et disparoître. Mes amis
 “ presents sont les Enfants et les petits Enfants des amis de ma jeunesse
 “ qui hélas ! ne Sont plus, Et je dois bientôt les Suivre, car par le
 “ Cours ordinaire de la Nature je ne puis m'attendre qu'oiqu'en bonne
 “ Santé a vivre Encore plus de 7. a 8. minutes : que me Servent a pre-
 “ sent tous mes travaux, toutes mes fatigues pour faire Sur cette feuille
 “ une provision de miellée que je ne puis vivre assez pour consommer ?
 “ que me Servent les Débats politiques dans lesquels je me suis Engagé
 “ pour l'avantage de mes Compatriotes habitans de ce Buisson, ou mes
 “ Recherches philosophiques consacrées au bien de notre Espèce En
 “ général ? En politique que peuvent les Lois Sans les Moeurs,⁸ Le
 “ cours des Minutes rendra la génération presente des Ephemeres
 “ aussi corrompue que celle des autres Buissons plus anciens Et par
 “ consequence aussi malheureuse, Et en Philosophie que nos progres
 “ sont lents ? hélas L'art est long Et la Vie Est courte⁴ mes amis vou-
 “ droient me consoler par l'idée d'un nom qu'ils disent que je laisserai
 “ après moi, Ils disent que j'ai assez vécu pour ma gloire Et pour la na-
 “ ture ; mais que Sert la renommée pour un Ephemere qui n'existe plus ?
 “ Et l'histoire que deviendra-t-elle lorsqu'a la 18^e. heure, le monde lui
 “ même, le Moulin Joly tout entier, Sera arrivé a Sa fin pour n'etre
 “ plus qu'un amas de Ruines ?

“ Pour moi apres tant de Recherches actives, il ne reste de bien réel
 “ que la Satisfaction d'avoir passé ma Vie dans l'intention d'etre utile,
 “ la Conversation aimable d'un petit nombre de bonnes Dames Ephe-
 “ meres Et de temps en temps le doux Sourire Et quelques accords de la
 “ toujours amiable Brillante.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 50, No. 39a.*

²La Riviere de Seine.

³Quid leges sine moribus ? hor.

⁴Hipocrate.

PASSY, NOV. 16, 1779.

J [e recus] '*ai Recu* les deux Lettres de ma chere Amie, l'une [pour] *pour le* Mercredi, l'autre [pour] *pour le* Sam[edi]; c'est aujourd'hui encore Mercredi. [Mais] Je ne merite pas [d'avoir une pour ce jour], [*d'en d'en avoir encore*], parceque je n'ai pas fait reponse aux [autres] precedentes. Mais *tout* indolent, [comme] *que* je suis, [& averse] *et quelque aversion que j'aye* à écrire, la Crainte de n'avoir [pas] plus de vos charmantes Epitres, si je ne contribue [pas] *aussi* ma part pour soutenir la Correspondance [m'oblige] *me force* de prendre [ma] *la* plume. Et comme M. Brillon [a] *n'a mandé* si obligamment qu'il part demain Matin pour vous voir moi, au lieu de passer [le] *ce* Mercredi[s] au soir, comme j'ai fait si long tems de ses predecesseurs du même nom, en vôtre [delicieuse Compagnie] douce Société, Je me [mis a] [*retira dans ma*] *suis mis à mon ecritoire pour* le passer [en] à pens[ant]er [de] à vous, [en écrivant à vous], *et à vous écrire* & [en lisant] *à lire* & reli[sant]re ce que vous m'avez [ecrit a moi] [*si elegamment*] si delicieusement écrit.

Je suis charmé de votre Definition du Paradis, & de [votre] *vos* Plans pour y vivre. J'approve aussi *trés* fortement la Conclusion que vous faites, qu'en attendant il faut tirer de ce bas monde tout le bien qu'on en peut tirer. A mon Avis, [nous c'est bien] *il est très* possible pour nous d'en tirer beaucoup plus de bien que nous n'en [tirons] *tirons* & d'en souffrir moins de mal, si nous [voulussions] *voulions* seulement prendre garde de *ne donner pas trop pour nos s[ou]ifflets*. Car il me semble, que la plus-part des Malheureux qu'on trouve dans le monde sont devenus tels par *leur* Negli[ss]gence de cette Caution.

Vous demandez ce que je veux dire? Vous aimez les [Contes] *Histoires* & vous m'excuse[ra]rez si je vous en donne une *qui me [re qui] regarde* [de] moi même. Quand J'etois un Enfant de 5 ou 6 ans, mes Amis, [sur] un Jour de Fête, remplirent ma petite Poche de [oooo] *sous*. [J'Iroit] J'allai[t] tout de suite à une Boutique ou on vendoit des Babioles, [&] *mais* étant charmé du [la] Son d'un Sifflet *que je rencontrois en chemin dans le mains d'un autre petit garcon* je lui volontiers offer[oit] *ais* & donnai volontiers pour cela tout mon Argent. [Quand je ret] Revenu chez moi, siffant par toute la Maison fort [satisfait] *content* de mon Achat *mais fatigant les Oreilles de toute la Famille*, mes Frères, mes Sœurs, mes Cousines, entendant [combien j'ai donne] que j'avois *tant* [tant] donné *tous* pour ce mauvais Bruit, [tous ils] me dirent que c'étoit dix fois plus que la Valeur; [& ils] *alors ils* me [faisoit] *furent* penser [du] *au* Nombre de[s] bonnes choses, que je pouvois acheter avec le reste [du] *de ma* Monnoye *si j'avois été plus [sage] prudent* & ils me ridicul[is]s[ent] *erent* tant de ma Folie, que je pleuroi[t]s de *cette* vexation; & la Reflexion me donnoit plus de Chagrin, que le sifflet [peut me donner] d[u]e plaisir.

PASSY, Nov. 16, 1779.

I received my dear Friend's two Letters, one for Wednesday & one for Saturday. This is again Wednesday. I do not deserve one for to day, because I have not answered the former. [But you will] But indolent as I am, and averse to Writing, the Fear of [receiving] having no more of your [*ever*] pleasing Epistles, if I do not contribute to the Correspondence, obliges me to take up my pen. And as M. Brillon has kindly sent me Word, that he sets out to morrow to see you, instead of spending this Wednesday evening as I [us'd to do Since these] have long done its Namesake's, in your delightful Company, I set down to spend it in thinking of you [and] in writing to you, *in reading over and over again your Letters.*

I am charm'd with your Description of Paradise, & with your Plan of living there. And I approve much of your Conclusion, that in the mean time we should draw all the Good we can from this World below. —In my Opinion we might all [do] *draw more good* from it than we do and suffer less Evil, if we [but careful enough] *would but take care* not to *give too much for our Whistles.* For to me it seems that most of the unhappy people we meet with, are become so by the Neglect of that [Circumstance] Caution.

You ask, what I mean?—You [ask what I] love Stories, and will excuse my telling you [a little] one of myself. When I was a Child of 7 Years old, my Friends [on a] *on a holiday* [fill'd my] fill'd my little Pocket with halfpence. I went directly to a Shop where they sold Toys for Children; and being charm'd with the Sound of a Whistle, *that I met by the way in the hands of another Boy,* I voluntarily offer'd and gave all my Money for it. When I came home, *whistling all over the House, much pleased with my Whistle, but disturbing all the Family,* my Brothers, Sisters & Cousins understanding the Bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth; put me in mind what Good things I might have bought with the rest of the Money, and laugh'd at me so much for my folly that I cry'd with Vexation; and the [Ch Chagrin I suffer'd by it was greater] Reflection [on] gave me more Chagrin than the Whistle gave me Pleasure.

[Co] *Cet accident fut* cependant, [etoit] dans la suite [ut] de quelque utilité pour moi, l'Impression restant sur mon Ame; [tant que quand] *de sorte que lorsque* j'étois tenté d'acheter quelque chose qui ne m'étoit pas nécessaire, je disois [a] *en* moi-même: *Ne donnois pas trop pour le Sifflet*; Et j'[ai sauve] *épargnois* mon Argent.

Devenant grand Garçon, [&] entrant [dans] le Monde, & observant les Actions des Hommes, je [pensois] *vis* que je rencontrois [un] Nombre [des gens] *de gens qui donnoient trop pour le Sifflet*.

Quand j'ai vû *quelqu'un*, qui, ambitieux [du] *de la* Faveur de la Cour, [sacrifiant] *consumant* son tems en [Attendance des] Assiduités aux [Levees] *Levers*, son Repos, sa Liberté, sa Vertu & peut-être ses vrais Amis, pour obtenir *quelque petite Distinction*; J'ai dit [a] *en* moi-même, *Cet homme donne trop pour son Sifflet*. Quand [j'ai] *j'en ai* vu une autre [entété] [personne] *avide [d'obtenir]* de Popularité [se rendre populaire] *de se rendre populaire* & pour cela s'occupant toujours de Contestations publiques, negligant ses [propres] Affaires *particulieres* & les ruinant par cette Negligence, [Il] [elle] *il* paye, *trop* ai-je dit, [*trop*] *pour son Sifflet*.—Si j'ai connu un [Miser] Avare, qui renonçoit à toute [espece] *maniere* de vivre commodement, à toute le plaisir de faire le bien aux autres, à toute l'Estime de ses Compatriotes; & a tous les [joyes] *charmes* de l'Amitié, pour avoir un morceau de metal jaune. Pauvre homme, [je] disois-je, vous donnez trop pour vôtre Sifflet!—Quand j'ai rencontre [a] un homme de Plaisir, sacrifiant toute *louable* perfectionnement [laudable] de son Ame [ou du] & toute amelioration de son Etat aux [gratifications] *volupté* de sens[e] purement corporel[les] [& en les poursuivant] & detruisant sa Santé dans leur poursuite. *Homme trompé*, ai-je dit, *vous vous procurez des Peines au lieu des Plaisirs; vous payez trop pour votre Sifflet!*—Si [je vois] *j'en ai vu* un autre, entété de beaux Habillemens, belles Maisons, belle Fournitures, beaux Equipages, toutes au-dessus de sa Fortune & [pour lesquelles il fait des] [voir] *qu'il ne se procurait qu'en faisant des Dettes & [finit] en allant finir sa Carriere dans une Prison*. Helas, [dira] [dis-je], *ai-je dit, Il a payé trop pour son Sifflet!*—Quand j'ai vu une très belle fille, d'un[e] [disposition] naturel[le] bon[ne] & [douce epouse] *doux mariée* à un homme feroce & brutal, qui la maltraite continuellement [*Quelle pitié*] *C'est grande Pitié*, ai-je dit, *qu'elle [a] ait tant payé [tant] pour un Sifflet!*—Enfin, j'ai conclu que la plus grande partie des Malheurs de[s] [Hommes] l'Espece humaine [ont sa derive] [vio] *viennent* des Estimations fausses qu'on fait de la Valeur des choses [moyen de qu'on] [oooooooo] on donne[s] [oooooooo] trop pour les Sifflets.

Neantmoins je dois avoir *je sens* que de la Charité pour ces Gens malheureux quand je considère qu'avec toute cette Sagesse dont je me vante, il y a certaines choses dans [le] *ce bas* monde si tentantes; par exemple, les Pommes du Roy Jean, lesquelles heureusement ne sont pas à acheter car [si si ils sont pour] *si elles étoient* mises a l'enchere,

This however was afterwards of Use to me, [and] the Impression continuing on my Mind; so that often when I was tempted to buy some unnecessary thing, I said to myself, *Don't give too much for the Whistle*, and I saved my Money.

As I grew up, [and] came into the World, and observed the Actions of Men, I thought I [saw] *met with many who gave too much for the Whistle*. When I saw [a man] one ambitious of Court Favour, sacrificing his Time, in attendance at Levees, his Repose, his Liberty, his Virtue, and perhaps his friend, to obtain it. [My] I have said to myself, *This Man gives too much for his Whistle*. When I saw another fond of Popularity, constantly employing himself in political Bustles, neglecting his own Affairs, and ruining [himself] *them* by that Neglect, [Here] *He pays*, says I, *too much for his Whistle*. If I knew a Miser, who gave up every kind of comfortable Living, [in order] all the Pleasure of doing good to others, all the Esteem of his Fellow Citizens, & the [] Joys of *benevolent* Friendship, for the sake of accumulating Wealth; *Poor Man*, says I, *you pay too much for your Whistle*. [If I saw a Prodigal] When I met with a Man of Pleasure, [giving up] *sacrificing* every laudable Improvement of his Mind or of his Fortune, to mere corporal Satisfaction, & ruining his Health in their Pursuit. *Mistaken Man*, says I, *you are providing Pain for yourself instead of Pleasure; you pay too much for your Whistle*. If I [see] [saw] *see* one fond of Appearance of fine Cloaths, *fine Houses*, fine Furniture, fine Equipages, all above his Fortune, [till] for which he contracts Debts, and ends his Career [in] *in* a Prison. *Alas*, says I, *he has paid too much for his Whistle*.—When I saw a beautiful [Girl] sweet temper'd *Girl* marr[ying]d to an *ugly* ill-natur'd Brute of a Husband: [M] *What a Pity*, says I, *that she should pay so much for a Whistle!*—In short, I conceiv'd that great Part of the Miseries of Mankind, were brought upon them by the false Estimates they *had* made of the Value of things, and by their *giving too much for the Whistle*.

Yet I ought to have Charity for these unhappy People when I consider, that with all this Wisdom of which I am boasting, there are certain things in the World [ooo] *so tempting*, for Example, the Apples of King John, which *happily are not to be bought*, for if they were to be put to sale by Auction, I might very easily be [brought] [induced] *led* to

je [peux] *pourrais* être très facilement [mené a] *porté* à me ruiner par *leur* [1] Achat, & trouver que [j'avois] *j'aurais encore* une fois *donné trop* [soo] *pour le Sifflet*.

Adieu ma très chere Amie, [& mo] croiez *moi* toujours le votre, bien sincerement, & avec une Affection [indiminuable] inaltérable.

[J'ai perdu vos voisines & les miennes & quand je pense [de] a vous, je chante pitoyablement

J'ai perdu mon Euridice : rien]—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 45, No. 149½.*

Je vous ai envoyé, ma très cher fille, par M^r. le Ray, l'*Avis à ceux qui veulent passer en Amerique*, que vous m'avez demandé ; & j'ai joint *les Remarques sur la Politesse des Sauvages*. Avec ce Billet, je vous envoie plusieurs autres petites choses, dont on a imprimé quelques Exemplaires dans la Maison, seulement pour nos Amis. Je vous demande bien pardon d'avoir mis parmi les miennes, une de votre façon, qui est certainement trop joli pour être placée en telle compagnie. [Je suis] Si par hazard vous n'avez pas perdu *la belle & la mauvaise jambe*, & *la Morale des Echecs*, vous avez, avec celles-ci, une Collection complete de toutes mes Bagatelles qui ont été imprimées à Passy.—Je suis bien fâché que Mad^{me} la Goutte afflige notre cher Ami. Vous sçavez qu'elle m'a donné de bons Conseils autrefois, mais malheureusement ayant trop de foiblesse pour en profiter, je ne puis mieux faire, il me semble, que de les envoyer à notre Ami, à qui ils pourront peut-être être utiles. Cette Dame m'a donné très souvent beaucoup de Chagrin, mais jamais autant qu'à present qu'elle vous empeche de revenir à Passy.—Je prierai pour vous & pour notre pauvre Malade, puisque vous le desirez. Mais si vous êtes aimés de Dieu autant que je vous aime, mes Prieres seront inutiles & superflus. Et tout Heretique que je suis, je ne doute pas qu'il aime des Catholiques tels que vous.

à Passy, ce 8 Avril 84.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 45, No. 181.*

ruin myself in the Purchase, and find that I had once more *given too much for the Whistle*.

Adieu, my dearest Friend, and believe me ever yours. very sincerely and with unalterable Affections.

[I have lost your Neighbours also. And when I think of you, I sing, I *have* lost my *Euridice*, Oh—]—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 45, No 149½*.

Je vous renvoye, ma très chere fille, *puisque vous voulez absolument le ravoir* le brouillon de votre *jolie* Fable. [C] J'avois la Pensée qu'en vous offrant une plus belle Edition [qu'il] *que vôtre Ouvrage* meritoit bien je pouvois vous gagner de me permettre *de retenir* l'Original; le que je desirois, parceque j'aime tout [ce] qui vient de votre Main. Et comme mon Fils est aussi un de vos Admirateurs, j'ai voulu, par le Plaisir de le lire lui payer [pour] l Travail de le bien copier. J'ai fait une faute; Je le confesse. Mais comme vous avez eu la Bonté de le pardonner, je ne le repeterai pas—jusqu'une autre Occasion. Voilà la Pratique de presque tous les Pecheurs!

[Vôtre] *Une des Personnages de votre Fable, viz. la Goutte*, me paroît raisonner assez bien, [except] a l'Exception de sa supposition que [les Femmes] [mon amour d] Maitresses [sont en Partie] ont *eu* quelque part en produisant [ma] *ce* maleureuse Maladie. Je crois, moi, tout le contraire, & voici comme je raisonne. Quand j'étois jeune homme, & [j—tu] *que je jouissois* plus [qu ce] des [leurs] faveurs *de la sexe* qu'a present, je n'avois point de la Goutte. [En] Donc, si les Dames de Passy auroient eu plus de *cette Espece* de Charité Chretienne que *je vous* [j] ai si souvent en vaine recommandé, je n'aurois pas eu la Goutte actuellement. Il me semble que ceci est bonne Logique.

Je suis beaucoup mieux; J'ai peu de douleur; mais je me trouve bien foible. Je peux, comme *vous* voyez, badiner un peu, mais [re] je ne peux pas être reellement gai, [jusque je suis assuré] *avant que j'entendrais* que votre *precieuse* Santé est retablie.

Je vous envoye mon Dialogue, en esperance que cela pourroit vous amuser [pour un quart] quelques moments.

Bien de Remerciements pour les tres dernieres Tomes de Montaigne, que je renvoye.

La Visite de votre toujours aimable Famille hier au soir m'a Faite beaucoup de bien; [sa bout] Comme je les aime tous, de la Grand Mere & le Pere. jusque le plus petite enfant.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 46, No. 44 (2d ser. of Nos.)*.

DIALOGUE ENTRE LA GOUTE & M. FRANKLIN.

[corrigé et augmenté de plusieurs fautes par un sçavant et voué de notes critiques par une femme qui n'est point sçavante.]

à MINUIT le 22. Oct. 1780.

M. F[ranklin]. Eh! Oh! Eh! Mon Dieu! qu'ai-je fait fait pour mériter ces Soufrances cruelles?

La Goute. Beaucoup de choses. Vous avez trop mangé, trop bû & trop [*satisfait la paresse de*] [indulgé vos jambes en leur indolence] *indulgé vos jambes en leur Indolence.*

M. F. Qui est-ce qui me parle?

La G. C'est moi-même, La Goute.

M. F. Mon Ennemie en Personne!

La G. Pas votre Ennemie.

M. F. Oui mon Enemie; car non seulement vous voulez me tuer le Corps par vos Tourmens, mais vous tâchez aussi de detruire ma bonne Réputation. Vous me representez comme un Gourmand et un Ivrogne. Et tout le monde qui me connoit, sçait qu'on ne m'a jamais accusé auparavant d'être un homme qui mangeoit trop, ou buvoit trop.

La G. Le Monde peut juger comme il lui plait, il a toujours beaucoup de Complaisance pour lui meme, et quelquefois pour ses Amis. Mais je sçais bien moi, que ce qui n'est pas trop boire, ni trop manger pour un homme qui fait raisonablement d'Exercice, est trop pour un homme qui n'en fait⁵ [aucun] *point.*

M. F. Je prends,—Eh! Eh!—autant d'exercice,—Eh!—que je puis, Madame la Goute. Vous connoissez mon Etat Sedentaire; et il me semble, qu'en consequence vous pourriez, Madame la Goute, m'epargner un peu, considerant que ce n'est pas tout à fait ma faute.⁶

La G. Point dutout. Votre Rhétorique & votre Politesse sont également perdues. Votre Excuse ne vaut rien. Si votre Etat est sedentaire,

⁵ *1ere notte*—M. Franklin dit: trop indulgé vos jambes en leur indolence: le corrigeur dit: trop satisfait la paresse de vos jambes—s: *indulgés* n'est pas François; ce n'est pas la faute de Mr. Franklin dont le genie est plus expressif qu'il n'appartient a notre langue; il faut faire recevoir *indulgés* a l'academie et ne point rendre la phrase lâche par ce=satisfait. la paresse de vos jambes: au moins auroit on pu dire: trop eu d'indulgence pour l'indolence de vos jambes: cela devasterait moins=l'original,=ce qui est important quand on corrige le style d'un auteur; mais *indulgés* vont mieux que tout ce qu'on mettra a la place; malheur a qui voudra mettre Franklin en bon François, on gacherra comme à Montagne.

⁶ *2de notte*—Il est question d'exercisse: Mr. Franklin dit: Est trop pour un homme qui n'en fait aucun:—on a rayé *aucun* pour mettre *point*:—je voudrois sçavoir qu'elle différence il y a entre ne *point* faire d'exercisse ou n'en faire *aucun*.

vos Amusements, vos Recréations doivent être acti[ves]fs. Vous devez *vous* promener à Pied ou à Cheval, ou si le Tems *vous en* empêche jouer au Billard. Mais examinons votre Cours de vie. Quand les Matinées sont longues et que vous avez assez de tems pour promener, qu'est-ce que vous faites ? Au lieu de gagner de l'Appetit pour votre déjeuner par un exercice salulaire, Vous vous amusez [en lisant les] *à lire des* Livres, [les] *des* Brochures ou Gazettes dont la plus part [ne vaudroient] *n'en valent* pas la peine. Vous dejeunez néanmoins largement ; Quatre Tasses de Thé à là Crème avec une ou deux grandes Tartines de Pain et de Beurre couvertes de Tranches de Beuf fumé ; qui je crois ne sont pas les choses du monde les plus faciles à digérer. Tout de suite vous vous placez à votre Bureau, vous y écrivez ou vous parlez aux gens qui viennent vous chercher pour [les] affaire[s]. Cela dure jusqu'à une Heure après-midi sans le moindre Exercice de Corps. Mais tout cela je vous *le* pardonne, parceque [qu'il appartient] *cela tient* comme vous dites à votre *Etat Sedentaire*. Mais après diner, que faites vous ? Aulieu de *vous* promener dans les beaux jardins de vos Amis [ou] *chez lesquels* vous avez diné, comme font les Gens sensés, Vous voilà établi—à l'Echiquier jouant aux Echecs, où on peut vous trouver deux ou trois Heures. C'est là votre Récréation éternelle ! La Récréation qui de toutes [les autres] est la moins [propre pour] [convenable a] *propre* à un homme Sedentaire ;⁷ parcequ'au lieu d'accélérer le mouvement des fluides, il demande une attention si forte et si fixe, que la Circulation est retardée & les Secretions internes empêchées. Enveloppé dans les Speculations de ce miserable jeu, vous détruisez votre Constitution. *Que peut on attendre d'une* telle façon de vivre [peut on attendre], si non un Corps plein d'humeurs Stagnantes prêtes à se corrompre et un Corps prêt à tomber en toutes sortes de Maladies dangereuses, si moi la Goute, je ne viens pas de tems en tems à votre Secours pour agiter ces humeurs et les purifier ou dissiper ? Si c'étoit dans quelque petite Rue ou Coin de Paris, depourvu de promenades, que vous pass[eriez]iez quelque tems aux Echecs après diner, vous pourriez dire cela en Excuse : Mais c'est la même chose à Passy, à Auteuil, à Montmartre, à Epinay, à Sanoy où il y a les plus beaux jardins & Promenades & belles Dames, l'Air le plus pur, *les* conversations les plus agréables, les plus instructives, que vous pouvez avoir tout en *vous* promenant, mais tous sont négligés, pour cet abominable jeu d'Échecs. Fi donc, M. Franklin ! Mais en continuant mes Instructions, j'oubliois de vos donner vos corrections. Tenez cet Élanement ; & celui.

M. F. Oh ! Eh ! Oh ! Ohhh !—Autant que vous [voulez] *vous-*

⁷ *3eme notte*—M^r Franklin dit : La Récréation qui de toutes est la moins *propre* a un homme sédentaire : on a mis : la *moins convenable* : le mot propre étoit plus *convenable*.

dre de vos Instructions, M^e. La Goute, même de vos Reproches, mais de grace pas plus de *vos* Corrections.

La G. Tout au contraire, je ne vous rabattrais pas [un As.] *le quart d'une*. Elles sont pour votre bien. Tenez.

M. F. Oh ! Eh !—Ce n'est pas juste de dire que je ne prends aucun Exercice, j'en [ai] *fais* souvent dans [une] *ma* voiture, en sortant pour aller à diner, & en revenant.

La G. C'est de tous les Exercices imaginables le plus léger et le plus insignifiant *que* celui *qui est* donné par le Mouvement d'une voiture suspendue [par] *sur* des Ressorts. En observant la Quantité de chaleur obtenue des différentes Espèces de mouvement, on peut former quelque Jugement de la quantité d'Exercice qui est donnée par chacun. Si, par Exemple, vous sortez à pied en hiver, avec les Pieds froids, en marchant une Heure, vous aurez vos Pieds et tout votre Corps bien échauffés. Si vous montez à Cheval, il faut trotter quatre heures avant de trouver le même Effet ; Mais si vous vous placez dans une telle voiture, vous pouvez voyager toute une Journée et entrer votre dernière Auberge avec vos Pieds encore froids.—Ne vous flattez donc pas qu'en passant une demie heure dans votre Voiture vous preniez de l'Exercice. Dieu n'a pas donné des Voitures à Roues à tout le Monde, mais il a donné à chacun deux Jambes, qui sont des machines infiniment plus commodes et plus serviables ; soyez en reconnoissant et faites usage[s] des vôtres. Voulez vous savoir comment elles font circuler vos fluides en même tems [qu'ils] *qu'elles* vous transportent d'un lieu à un autre, pensez que quand vous marchez tout le poids de votre Corps est jeté alternativement sur l'une et l'autre jambe, cela presse avec grande force sur les vaisseaux du Pied & [se—Contents]. *refoule ce qu'ils contiennent*. Pendant que le Poids est [protrude] *oté* de ce Pied et jeté sur l'autre, les Vaisseaux ont le tems de se remplir et par le Retour du Poids [cette protrusion] *ce* [repoussement] *refoulement* est répétée, ainsi la Circulation du Sang est accélérée en marchant. La Chaleur produite en un certain Espace de tems est en raison de l'Accélération ; les Fluides sont battus les Humeurs atténuées, les Secretions facilitées, et tout va bien. Les joues prennent [une] *du* Vermeil, et la Santé est établie. Regardez votre Amie d'Auteuil, une Femme qui a reçu de la Nature plus de Science vraiment utile, qu'une demi-douzaine ensemble de vous Philosophes prétendus n'en n'ont tiré de tous vos Livres. Quand elle voulut vous faire l'honneur de sa Visite, elle vint à Pied, elle *se* promène du matin jusqu'au soir, & elle laisse toutes les maladies d'Indolence en [Portion] *partage* à ses Chevaux. Voilà comme elle conserve sa Santé, même sa Beauté. Mais vous, quand vous allez à Auteuil c'est dans la Voiture. Cependant il n'y a [est] pas plus loin de Passy à Auteuil que d'Auteuil à Passy.

M. F. Vous m'ennuiez avec tant de Raisonnements.

La G. Je le crois bien. Je me tais, et je continue mon office, tenez cet élancement et [cecy] celui-ci.

M. F. Oh ! Ohh !—Continuez de parler je vous prie.

La G. Non. J'ai un nombre d'Elancements à vous donner cette Nuit, et vous aurez le reste demain.

M. F. Mon Dieu, La Fievre !—Je me perds. Eh ! Eh ! N'y at'il Personne qui puisse prendre cette peine pour moi.

La G. Demandez cela à vos Chevaux. Ils ont pris la peine de marcher pour vous.

M. F. Comment pouvez vous être si cruelle de me tourmenter tant pour Rien.

La G. Pas pour Rien. J'ai ici une Liste de tous vos Pechés, contre votre Santé bien distinctement écrite, & je peux vous rendre Raison de tous les Coups que je vous donne.

M. F. Lisez la, donc.

La G. C'est trop long à lire. Je vous en donnerai le[s] Montant[s].

M. F. Faites le. Je suis tout attention.

La G. Souvenez vous combien *de fois* vous vous êtes proposé de *vous promener le matin (Prochain) suivant* dans le Bois de Boulogne, dans le Jardin de La Muette ou dans le votre ; et que vous avez manqué de parole ; alleguant quelquefois que le tems étoit trop froid d'autrefois qu'il étoit trop chaud, trop venteux, trop humide, ou trop quelqu'autre chose, quand en verité, il n'y avoit rien de trop qui empechoit, excepté votre trop de Paresse.

M. F. Je confesse que cela peut arriver quelquefois, peut être pendant un An dix fois.

La G. Votre Confession est bien imparfaite, le vrai Montant est cent quatrevingt dix neuf.

M. F. Est'il possible ?

La G. Oui ; c'est possible, parceque c'est un fait. Vous pouvez rester assuré de la justesse de mon Compte.—Vous connoissez les Jardins de M. Brillon, comme ils sont bons à [promener] [la promenade] *promener*.⁸ Vous connoissez le bel Escalier de 150. Degrés, qui mène de la Terrasse en haut, jusqu'à la Plaine en bas. Vous avez visité deux fois par semaine dans les après midi, cette aimable Famille, C'est une Maxime de votre Invention, qu'on peut avoir autant d'Exercice en montant et descendant un Mile en Escalier, qu'en marchant dix sur une plaine. Quelle belle Occasion [que] vous avez eue de prendre tous les deux Exercices ensemble. En avez vous profité ? et combien de fois ?

⁸ *4eme notte*—En parlant de jardins Mr. Franklin dit—*Comme ils sont bons à promener* : on a mis : *comme ils sont bons à la promenade*—il me semble que des jardins peuvent être bons à *promener*, puisqu'on juge qu'il sont bons à la *promenade*. Il y auroit encore plusieurs notes a faire ; mais comme elles servient toutes du meme genre ; en voila assez pour démontrer que le Francois de Mr. Franklin est souvent aussi bon, toujours plus conçois que celui du sçavant qui le corrige ; et—que les mots de sa création pourrissent servir a enrichir notre langue.

M. F. Je ne peux pas bien répondre à cette question.

La G. Je répondrai donc pour vous, pas une fois.

M. F. Pas une fois!

La G. Pas une fois. Pendant tout le bel Été passé, vous y êtes arrivé à six heures. Vous y avez trouvé cette charmante femme et ses beaux Enfans, & ses Amis, prêts à vous accompagner dans ces Promenades, [&] et de vous amuser avec leurs agréables Conversations. Et qu'avez vous fait? Vous vous êtes assis sur la Terrasse, *vous avez* loué la belle Vue, regardé la Beauté des Jardins en bas; mais vous n'avez pas bougé un Pas pour descendre, y *vous* promener. Au contraire vous avez demandé du Thé et l'Echiquier. Et vous voilà collé à votre Siege jusqu'à neuf Heures. Et cela après avoir joué peut être deux Heures où vous avez diné. Alors au lieu de retourner chez vous à Pied, [qui peut] *ce qui pourrait* vous remuer un peu, vous prenez votre Voiture. Quelle Sottise de croire qu'avec tout ce dérèglement, on peut se conserver en Santé, sans moi.

M. F. A cette heure je suis convaincu de la Justesse de cette Remarque du Bon Homme Richard, que nos Dettes et nos péchés sont toujours [plus] *plus grands* qu'on ne pense.

La G. C'est comme [ca,] *cela* que vous autres Philosophes avez toujours les Maximes [du Sage] *des Sages* dans votre Bouche, pendant que votre Conduite est comme celle des Ignorans.

M. F. Mais faites vous un de mes Crimes *de ce que* que je retourne en Voiture de chez M^e. Brillon.

La G. Oui assurément, car vous qui avez été [ooo] assis toute la journée, Vous ne pouvez pas dire que vous êtes fatigué du travail du Jour. Vous n'avez pas besoin donc d'être soulagé par une Voiture.

M. F. Que voulez vous donc que je fasse de ma Voiture?

La G. Brulez la, si vous voulez. Alors vous en tirez au moins pour une fois de la chaleur. Ou si cette Proposition ne vous plait pas, je vous en donnerai une autre. Regardez les Pauvres Paysans qui travaillent la terre dans les Vignes et les Champs autour des Villages de Passy, Auteuil, Chaillot, &c. Vous pouvez tous les jours, parmi ces bonnes creatures, trouver quatre ou cinq vieilles Femmes et vieux Hommes, courbés et peut être estropiés sous le poids des Années et par un travail *trop* fort et continuel, qui après une longue Journée de Fatigue ont à marcher peut être un ou deux Miles pour trouver leurs Chaumières. Ordonnez à votre Cocher de les prendre et de les placer chez eux. Voilà une bonne Oeuvre! qui fera du bien [pour] *a* votre Ame; et si en même tems vous retournez de votre Visite chez les Brillons à Pied, cela sera bon pour votre Corps.

M. F. Ah! comme vous êtes ennuyeuse!

La G. Allons donc à notre Metier, il faut souvenir que je suis votre Medecin. Tenez.

M. F. Ohhh!—Quel Diable de Medecin!

La G. Vous êtes un Ingrat de me dire cela. N'est-ce pas moi qui en qualité de votre Medecin vous [a] *ai* sauvé de la Paralyisie, de l'Hydropisie et de l'Apoplexie, dont l'une ou l'autre vous auroient tué il y a long tems si je ne les *en* avois empechées.

M. F. Je le confesse. Et je vous remercie pour ce[la] qui est passé. Mais de Grace quittez moi, pour jamais. Car il me semble qu'on aimeroit mieux mourir que d'être gueri si douloureusement. Souvenez vous que j'ai aussi été votre ami. Je n'ai jamais loué de combattre contre vous, ni les Medecins, ni les Charlatans d'aucune Espece, si donc vous ne me quittez pas, vous serez aussi accusés d'Ingratitude.

La G. Je ne pense pas que je vous doive grande Obligation de cela. Je me moque des Charlatans, ils peuvent vous tuer, mais ils ne peuvent pas me nuire. Et quand aux vrais Medecins, ils sont enfin convaincu de cette verité, que la Goute n'est pas une Maladie, mais un veritable Remede, & qu'il ne faut pas guerir un Remede. Revenons à notre Affaire. Tenez.

M. F. Oh de grace quittez moi, et je vous promets fidelement que desormais je ne jouerai plus aux Echecs [et je ferai bon Usage de l'exercise] *que je ferai de l'Exercise* journallement et *que* je vivrai sobrement.

La G. Je vous connois bien, vous êtes un beau Prometteur. Mais après quelques mois de bonne Santé, vous commencerez à aller votre ancien train. Vos belles Promesses seront oubliées comme on oublie les formes de Nuages de la derniere Année. Allons donc, finissons notre Compte. Après cela je vous quitterai ; mais soyez assuré que je vous visiterai en [Saison] *tems & lieu*. Car c'est pour votre bien, et je suis, vous sçavez, votre bonne Amie.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 50, No. 36.*

EXTRACTS FROM ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN LETTERS BETWEEN
MADAME BRILLON AND DR. FRANKLIN.

ce samedi 18. 9^{bre}, '80.

Il y auroit bien quelques petites choses a redire a votre logique que vous assuréz si bonne mon cher papa—*Quand* j'étois jeune homme distes vous, et que je jouissois plus des faveurs du sexe qu'à présent, je n'avois point de goutte : *Donc* [mon] on pourroit répondre a cela—quand je me suis jetté par la fenétre je ne me suis pas cassé la jambe : *Donc* ; vous pouries avoir la goutte sans l'avoir mérité, et vous pouries l'avant a ce que je crois bien mérité ne l'a point avoir ; si ce dernier raisonnement n'est pas si brillant que les autres, il est clair est sur : ce qui n'est n'y clair n'y sur, ce sont les raisonnements des phillosophes qui veulent que tout ce qui arrive dans le monde soit nécessaire au [mou] mouvement général de la machine universélle : je crois que la machine n'en iroit n'y mieux n'y plus mal, si vous n'aviez pas la goutte, et si j'étois a jamais quitte de mes meaux de nerfs ; je ne vois pas quelle facillité ces petits incidents de plus ou de moins peuvent donner aux voués qui tournent ce bas

monde a tort et a travérs et je sçais que ma petite machine en va bien plus mal : ce que je sçais fort bien *encore* ; c'est que la douleur devient quelquefois maitresse de la raison, et que la seule patience peut venir a bout de les deux chicanières ; j'en ai donc le plus que je puis, et vous conseille d'en faire autant mon ami ; lorsque les frimats ont attristes la terre, un beau soleil nous les faire oublier : nous sommes au milieu des frimats, il faut patiemment attendre ce beau soleil, et en l'attendant nous distraire dans les moments ou la foiblesse et la douleur nous laissent en repos ; voila mon chér papa ma logique a moi : | :

Votre dialogue m'a beaucoup amusé, mais votre *corrigueur* de françois a gasté votre besogne ; croyes moi, laissé vos ouvrages tels qu'ils sont, faites des mots qui diront des choses et mocques vous des grammairiens qui par pureté affoiblissent toutes vos phrases : si j'avois la teste asses forte je ferois une diatribe terrible contre ceux qui osent vous retoucher. Fut ce l'abbe de la roche, mon voisin veillard &c &c &c : je veux m'amuser a faire des nottes sur votre besogne et sur la leurs, [vous] et vous verres que c'est vous qui aures raison adieu mon bon papa, mon gros mari vous portera ma léttre, il est bien heureux de pouvoir vous aller voir, pour moi : il ne me réste que la faculté d'aimer mes amis, vous ne douttes surement pas que je ne m'en acquitte de mon mieux pour vous, jusqu'a la charité chetiéenne c'est a dire votre charité chretiéenne *exclusivement* : | :—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 3.*

ce deux decembre.

Votre lettre mon aimable papa m'a fait un sensible plaisir, mais si vous voulés m'en faire un plus grand restes en France jusqu'au moment ou vous verres ma sixième génération, je ne vous demande que quinze ou seize ans, ma petite fille sera mariable de bonne heure, elle est belle et forte : je goutte un nouveau sentiment mon bon papa auqu'el mon coeur se livre avec satisfaction, il est si doux d'aimer ! je n'ai jamais conçu comment il existoit des estres asses énnemis d'eux mesme pour repousser l'amitié ; il y a des ingrats, dira t'on ; eh bien l'on est trompé, cela est un peu dur quelquefois, mais on ne l'est pas toujours, et de se sentir incapable de le rendre donne un contentement de soi mesme qui consolle de la trahison :

Ma petite nourice est charmante et fraiche comme la rose du matin, l'enfant les premiers jours a eu de la peine a se faire a téter un sein ferme et donc le bout étoit mignon et court, mais la patience, le courage de la mère l'ont emporté, tout va bien, et rien n'est plus interessant que ce tableau, une jeune et jolie personne allaitant un superbe enfant, le père occupé sans cesse de ce spéctacle et joignant ses soins a ceux de sa femme, mes yeux se mouillent sans cesse et mon coeur jouit mon aimable papa, vous sentés si bien le prix de tout ce qui tient a la belle et bonne nature que je vous devois ces details, ma fille me charge de ses remercimens et complimens pour vous, ma Cadéte, mes hommes vous

présentent leurs civilités, et moi mon ami je vous prie de croire que mon amitié et mon existence seront toujours un pour vous :

PRESS COPY OF FRANKLIN'S ANSWER.

Je vous félicite très cordialement, ma très chère amie, de l'heureux Accouchement de votre Fille. Puisse l'Enfante être ainsi bonne & ainsi aimable que sa mère, sa grandemère, sa grandgrandemère, &c. Je me souviens d'avoir un jour rencontré chez vous quatre de vos Generations, quand vos Enfants étoient très jeunes ; que j'ai dit alors que j'espérois vivre à voir la cinquième ; Voici mon Souhait prophétique accompli. Je fais des Vœux actuellement pour la Prosperité continuelle de toute la bonne Famille. Avez vous des nouvelles de notre bon Evêque ? Ou est il ? Comment se porte t-il ? Je vous embrasse fortement.—B. F.

ce 29 Nov^{bre}, 84.

—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 7.*

ce 4 mars à paris.

Je vous dois mil remerciemens mon bon papa de votre joli billet et de votre lettre aux auteurs du journal de paris ; mais je vous en devrés deux mil, si vous y joignés l'avis a ceux qui veulent passer en amérique, j'espérois aller vous le demander aujourd'hui et m'établir pour six ou sept mois a passy mais mon pauvre mari a la goutte aux deux jambes, et la guérison de cette maudite goutte peut seule nous rendre notre liberté ; priés pour lui mon bon papa tout hérétique que vous estes, j'ai plus de foi en vos prières qu'en toutes celles de nos dérvishes ; adieu mon ami aimez moi bien et comptez que de toutes celles qui vous ont aimés et vous aiment aucunes ne vous aime [nt] autant que moi :—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 18.*

ce 13. octobre à La thuillerie.

Comment estes vous mon bon papa ? j'âmais il ne m'en a tant couuté de m'éloigner de vous, chaque soirs il me semble que vous series bien aise de me voir, et chaque soirs je pense a vous ; lundi si j'irai vous retrouver, j'espere qu'alors vous series bien sur vos jambes et que le thé du mercredi samedi et celui du dimanche matin reprendront tout leur lustre je vous menerai *la bonne évêque*, mon gros mari vous fera rire, nos enfants riront ensemble le grand voisin persiflera, les abbés la roche et morelét mangeront tout le beure, M^{de} grand son aimable nièce et M^r grand ne nuirront pas a la société, le père pagin jouera dieu d'amour sur le violon, moi la marche au piano, vous petits oiseaux sur l'harmonica, oh mon ami voyons dans l'avenir de belles et bonnes jambes pour vous, et ne pensons plus a la mauvaise qui vous a tant persécuté ; après le mal on jouit mieux du bien, la vie est semée de l'un

et de l'autre qu'elle varient sans cesse, ce qu'elle ne peut empêcher d'être égale, uniforme, c'est ma tendresse pour vous, que les tems, les lieux, les événemens n'altereront jamais :

ma mère et toute ma famille se rapellent a votre souvenir :

j'ai eu de vos nouvelles par le voisin, mais il m'en faut absolument de vous :—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 33.*

ce mardi 16 a La thuillerie.

Je vous assure mon bon papa que je mettrai toute mon attention a ne pas trop donner *pour les sifflets* ; s'ils n'ont guère coutés a ma bourse, ils ont coutés chers a mon coeur et votre lettre me prouve bien plus encore que mon expérience et mes réflexions, que j'ai souvent payés bien chers *de mauvais sifflets* ; j'ai cru par exemple que lorsque j'aimois on devoit m'aimer, mesurant l'âme des autres a la mienne ; j'ai rarement trouvés la valeur de ce que je donnois, ce qui j'appelle *trop payé pour le sifflet* ; j'ai cru ce que les gents disoient, parcequ'ils le disoient ; et que je n'imaginerois pas qu'on pût dire une chose lorsqu'on pensoit le contraire ; c'est de tous les sifflets celui qui m'a le plus couté—je ne finirois pas si je faisois l'énumération de ce qu'il m'en coutte en sottises et en *sifflets* ; ce qui me consolle c'est que si j'ai été dupe, je n'en ai jamais fait ; j'ai désiré le bien j'ai aimé franchement et n'en veut point a mes semblables d'être mechants : Le méchant doit être plaint, il ne peut être heureux ! en mettant a part l'imagination et les erreurs qu'elle nous présentent sans cesse, en nous en rapportant a la phillosophie et a la raison, il n'existe qu'un seul moyen a l'homme d'être heureux : qu'il soit bon — — — — comment estre bon ? en n'agissant jamais que d'après son coeur—en se demandant toujours avant de faire une action si elle est juste—en choisissant bien des amis en respectant les loix, les usages du pays qu'on habite ; en tachant de voir juste dans tous les points possibles, de se depouiller de tous préjugés, de toutes préventions, sans heurter pour cela l'opinion des autres ; en sachant s'occuper utilement dans son état, en en remplissant les devoirs ; en faisant enfin ce qu'a toujours fait mon bon papa, qui n'a trop payé le sifflet qu'étant tout enfant et qui depuis ce tems a plaint tous ceux qui les payoient au dela de leur valeur :

de samedi en huit mon bon papa, je vous donnerai un peu de musique, quelques parties d'échés, et du thé ; je compte revenir le jeudi vingt cinq de ce mois pour disner : vous dirais je que j'aurai bien du plaisir a vous revoir ! non ! j'aime mieux vous le laisser deviner—la seule chose que je veuille vous dire sur cet article, c'est que vous pouvés croire que personne au monde ne vous est plus sincérement attaché que moi, et que vous pouvés m'aimer en conséquence sans craindre de trop donner *pour le sifflet* :

M^r Brillon a bien ri des *sifflets* : nous trouvons que ce que vous

appelés votre mauvais français, donne souvent du picquant a votre narration, par la construction de certaines phrases, et par les mots que vous inventés: m^r Brillon, mes enfants, ma mère, mon frère vous présentent leurs hommages et amitiés; nous faisons tous avec votre p^rmission mil compliments a m^r votre fils:—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 34.*

ce 11 x^{bre} à nice.

Mon chér papa le voisin vous remettra ce petit mot; sçavés vous pourqu'oi je ne vous écris qu'un petit mot bien petit c'est que je vous boude—oui monsieur papa je vous boude: comment! vous prenés des armées entières en amérique, vous *burgoinisés* cornwallis, vous prenés canons, vaisseaux, munitions, hommes, cheveux & & vous prenes tout et de tout, et la gasette seule l'apprend a vos amis qui se grisent en buvant a votre santé, a celle de Wasington de l'indépendance, du roy de france, du marquis de la fayette, de M^r de Rochambault, chalelux & & tandis que vous ne leurs donnés pas signe de vie; vous devés cependant estre un bon vivant a présent, quoique cela vous manque rarement, vous estes surement rajeuni de 20 ans par cette bonne nouvelle qui doit nous amener une paix durable a la suite d'une guérre glorieuse—je vous boude donc et vous boudrai jusqu'a ce que j'aye de vos nouvelles; en attendant cependant comme je ne veux pas la mort du pêcheur je vous ferai une marche triomphalle, je vous l'envoyerai, vous écrirai, et vous aimerai mesme de tout mon coeur: | :

POSTSCRIPT BY M. BRILLON.

Moy qui ne vous boudés point, je vous fais mon compliment bien sincere mon cher Papa et vous embresses des deux cotés bien cordialement, aussi le petit fils que je ne puis separer de vous.

FRANKLIN'S ANSWER.

a PASSY, ce 25 Dec^r, '81.

Vous me boudes, ma chere Amie, que je n'avois pas vous envoyés [un expres pour vous avertir de] *tout de suite l'histoire de* notre grande Victoire. Je suis bien sensible de la Magnitude de notre Avantage, *possibles bonnes* et de ses Consequences; [probables possibles,] mais je ne triomphe pas. Sçachant que la Guerre est plein de [Evenements] *Variété* & d'Incertitudes; dans la mauvaise Fortune j'espere la bonne; & dans la bonne je crains la mauvaise. Ainsi je joue à ce Jeu avec presque la meme Egalité [de l'] Ame que [vous que] vous m'avez vü [je] jouer aux Echecs. Vous sçavez que je ne renonce jamais à une Partie avant qu'il est finie, esperant toujours de gagner, ou au moins d'avoir un Pat & je me g[u]arde, quand j'ai bonne Partie, contre la Presomption, qui est souvent très nuisible, & toujours très dangereuse. Et [si

j'avois] *quand j'ai* de Presomption je tache de le [cacher] cacher, pour éviter la Honte si la Fortune change. Vous voyez pourquoi j'ai dit si peu de cette Affaire, & que j'ai seulement remarqué, que rien ne pouvait me faire parfaitement heureux ; en certain Circonstances.

Comme vous avez toujours évité de faire des connoissances nombreuses, vous ne pouvez pas imaginer le Quantité de Gens qui s'intéressent de votre Bienêtre. Je [trouve] *rencontre* toujours quelques uns en toutes les [Compagnies] *Sociétés*, en toutes les Parties de Paris & a Versailles, qui me demandent de vos Nouvelles, de votre Santé, *a bout que vous etablirez votre Santé, que vous vivrez long tems ameliorerez votre constitution que vos nerfs seront fortifiés*, & ceux qui m'aiment disent quelques mots pour me consoler de Votre Absence : tous parlent de vous avec Respect *plusieurs avec affection & meme avec Admiration*. Cela est Musique pour mes Oreilles & plusque compense [la] *ma* perte des Noels charmantes, que la Saison me fait souvenir.

Je passe souvent devant la Maison. Elle me paroît desolée. Autrefois j'ai brisé le Commandement en la Convoitant, avec la Femme [& les Enfants] de mon [bon] Voisin. A cette heure je ne [la] le convoite plus. Ainsi je suis moins Pecheur. Mais par Rapport a la Femme, je trouve toujours [cette Espece de] *ces* Commandements [being] bien incommodes, & je suis fâché qu'on *s'est avisé* [a] de les faire. Si [vous] dans vos voyages vous vous trouvez chez le Saint Pere, demandez de lui de les rapeller, comme étant données seulement aux Juifs, & trop genantes pour les bons chrétiens.

Voilà arrivé le Jour de la Naissance du Dauphin du Ciel, & jusqu'a present nous n'avons eu la moindre Apparence d'Hyver. J'ai diné aujourd'hui à Chaillot les Portes & Fenetres ouvertes comme en Éte & j'ai dit a moi-meme, je ne crois pas qu'on a plus beaux temps à Nice, [& j'étois pret a chanter] & *j'étois pret a chanter*.

Helas ! pourquoi chercher [si loin] sur l'onde la Bonheur qu'on trouvoit [chez soi] au port. Mais j'espere que tout sera pour le mieux.

Quoique j'ai dit que je ne triomphe pas, je serai bien aise d'avoir la Marche que vous avez la bonté de me promettre. Mais je crois que je ne l'entendrai bien jouée avant votre retour.

J'ai lu la petite Memoire de votre Ami de Marseilles. [Il est] Elle est plein d'Intelligence & de bon Sens. Je la communiquerai ou elle peut avoir quelque bonne Effet.

Dites quelques millions de bonnes choses pour moi [n] a chacun & chacune de votre heureuse [Compag] *Société*.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 44.*

ce dimanche 26.

Voici mon bon papa des nottes sur votre charmant dialogue, j'ai voulu prouvé que vous disiez mieux que tout autre, mesme dans une

langue que vous ne sçavéz qu'imparfaitement : quelques puristes pourroient nous chicaner, parceque ces espèces d'animeaux pésent les mots a l'alembic d'une froide érudition ; moi qui ne les pésent, n'y ne les comparent ; animal fémmelle que l'instinct du sentiment guide comme vous me paroisses vous énoncer plus énergiquement plus fortement qu'un gramairien, ma sensibilité juge pour vous, contre tous les sçavants passés, présents, et futurs : adieu mon ami, je pourrois peut estre avéc mon instinct faire de longues dissertations pour appuyér mon opinion et peut estre mes raisonnements, ne seroient pas plus déraisonnables que ceux de la pluparts de nos admirables, illustres ; —Encyclopédistes, Economistes, moralistes, journalistes, théologiens, athées, materialistes et Sçavants en tous les *istes* possibles ? Mais il n'y a pour moi qu'une chose importante a vous prouvé ; c'est que personne au monde ne vous aime plus tendrement et d'une manière plus vrai que moi : | :

je vous demande mon ami une copie du dialogue que je vous renvoye, vos ouvrages en tout genre me sont précieux, et je n'oublie pas la promesse que vous m'avés faites de me donnér vos oeuvres imprimées que j'aurois déjà s'il ne m'étoit plus doux de les tenir de vous : | :

ce samedi 25.

J'envoye sçavoir de vos nouvelles mon bon papa ; les miennes sont meilleures mais je suis encore loin du but : je comptois vous envoyér mes nottes ; des amis ont pris le tems que je vous résérvois en venant causér avéc moi ; ils ne m'ont point empêcher de penser a vous et de vous aimer, nulle puissance n'en viendrait a bout ! mais je n'ai pú vous écrire : adieu mon bon ami, a nous deux nous ne ferions pas deux instrumens a bonne et mauvaises jambes, car j'ai bien peur que nos quates n'en valent pas une médiocre.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 77.*

EXERCISE IN FRENCH, N. 5.

Letter to M^e B., transcrib'd and corrected by her (in Franklin's handwriting).

Depuis que vous m'aves assuré que nous nous rencontrons *rencontrerons* et que nous nous reconnoitrons en paradis, j'ai pensé continuellement sur l'arrangement de nos affaires dans ce pays lá ; car j'ai grand *grande* confiance en vos assurances, et je crois implicitement ce que vous croyés :

Vraisemblablement plus que *de* 40 années couleroit *couleront* après mon arrivée lá, avant que vous me suiveres *suivis* : je crains, un peu, que dans la course d'une *d'un* si longue *long* temps, vous pouvés *ne puissés* m'oubliér. c'est pourqu'oi j'ai eu la pensée de vous proposer de me donnér votre parole d'honneur, de ne pas renouveler lá votre contrat avec M^r B.—je vous donnent au *donnerai en*

mesme temps le mien *la mienne* de vous attendre mais ce monsieur est si bon, si généreux envers nous—il vous aime—et nous lui—si bien—que je ne puis [pas] penser [de] a cette proposition, sans quelque[s] [scrupules de] scrupule[s] de conscience—cependant l'idée d'une Eternité dans laquelle je ne serai pas plus favorisé que d'estre permis *d'avoir permission* de baiser vos mains, ou vos jouës quelquefois, et que de passér deux ou trois heures dans votre douce société les soirées des mercredis et samedis, c'est effroyable : enfin je ne puis pas faire cette proposition, mais comme (avec tous ceux qui vous connoissent) je souhaite de vous voir heureuse en toutes choses, nous pouvons agréer de n'en plus parlé a present et de la laisser a vous, *vous laisser la liberté d'en décider*, quand nous [tous] nous rencontrerons tous : là d'en déterminer comme vous jugerés le meilleur pour [la] vostre félicité et pour les nôtres. determinez comme vous voudrez, je sens que je vous aimerai *aimerai* éternellement—si vous me rejetterez *rejetés*, peut estre je m'adresserai *m'adresserai* a m^{de} D'hardancourt, et qui il *a qui il* plaira [peut estre a elle] de faire menage avec moi ; alors je passerai mes heures domestiques agréablement avec elle ; et je serai plus a portée de vous voir, j'aurai asses de tems dans ces 40 années la, de pratiquer sur L'Armonica, et peut estre je jouerai assés bien pour estre digne d'accompagner votre forté piano, nous aurons de tems en tems de petits concerts : le bon père pagin sera de la partie, votre voisin et sa chere famille [m^r jupin] *m^r de chaumont*, m^r B, m^r jourdon, m^r grammont, m^{de} du tartre, la petite mère, et d'autres amis choisís seroient *seront* notre auditoire, et les chères bonnes filles accompagnées par quelques autres jeunes anges de qui vous m'avés déjà donné les portraits, chanteroient *chanteront* avec nous le alleluia, nous mangerons ensemble des pommes de paradis roties avec du beure et de la muscade ; et nous aurons pitié de ceux qui ne sont *seront* pas morts :

Notes by Franklin.

More than 40 years—Plus de (not que) 40 années.

To think of a thing—Penser à (not de) une chose.

To be permitted—D'avoir Permission (not d'être permis).

Perhaps I shall address myself—Peutêtre m'adresserai-je (not je m'adresserai).—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 87.*

Bravo, Bravissimo, la lettre pour m^r de parseval ; il n'y a rien a corriger, et m^r franklinct ne me l'a envoyé que par excés d'amour propre ; m^r de parseval demeure rue s^{te} anne, m^r franklin le verra ce soir chez m^r de floissac ; adieu, avant qu'il soit nuit nous nous verrons en attendant pourtant j'embrasse mon papa : et je saluë le petit fils.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 98.*

Plaidoyer pour Madame
 Brillon de Joury
 française native de Paris demeurant
 ordinairement à Passy de present à Nice

Contre Monsieur
 Benjamin Franklin
 américain né à Boston ci devant
 academicien, phisicien, Logicien && &ca
 aujourd'hui Ambassadeur en France des
 Provinces unies de L'amerique resident
 à Passy.

C'est avec regret que Le Sanctuaire de la Justice S'ouvre et que cette deesse ecoute des plaintes portées contre un homme celebre, que ses ennemis mêmes ont respecte comme le plus sage, et le plus juste des philosophes de son Siecle; Sa Partie adverse même Longtems abusée sur son merite, n'osoit reclamer une dette qu'elle croyait d'autant plus sacrée qu'elle regardait comme inutile La Signature de Monseigneur Benjamin Franklin, et que sa parole lui paraissait plus sure que tous les contrats: aujourd'hui Lesée dans tous ses droits, opprimée sous le poids de L'injustice, elle craindrait peut être encore de ternir la reputation de L'homme qui La trompé de la maniere La plus outrageante, si la Societé n'était interessée á devoiler un crime d'autant plus atroce, et dangereux à Son repos, qu'il est commit par un homme en place dont L'état & la reputation semble lui assurer L'impunité.

O Justice, ô deesse image du dieu, qui regit L'univers, qui devoile les actions Les plus cachées pour recompenser la vertu ignorée, et punir Le vice orgueilleux qui leve sa tête altiere se croyant á L'abri de la Foudre, Justice, je t'implore en Faveur de la Dame Brillon, pese dans tes balances redoutables les conventions reciproques de L'ambassadeur, et de la Femme qu'il abusa d'une maniere cruelle, ne te laisses seduire ni par L'eloquence Sublime de l'amériquin coupable, ni par sa Science dangereuse, ni par sa reputation que la renommée s'est enorgueillie d'étendre d'un pôle à L'autre, plus le coupable est grand, plus il cause L'admiration des deux hemispheres, plus ta gloire s'accroitra, deesse, en proportionant La punition à L'offense en Laissant tomber ton tonnerre sur celui qu'on assure avoir enchainé La Foudre, comme il entraîna tous Les Cœurs.

Faits.

En 1776 Messire Benjamin Franklin fit une societé d'amitié conjointement avec La dame Brillon, par La quelle ils se promirent reciproquement de se voir souvent Lorsqu'ils seroient á portée de le faire sans pre-judicier à Leurs affaires reciproques.

2° de s'ecrire Lorsqu'ils seroient separés.

3° de repondre exactement à toutes les lettres ecrites par L'un où par L'autre.

4° de n'alleguer aucunes raisons pour se dispenser des conventions cy dessus enoncées.

En 1781 Madame Brillon obligée de faire un long Voyage pour cause de Santé, prit congé de Monsieur Benjamin Franklin avec une veritable douleur, il parut touché de son depart Lui rapella Leurs conventions, Lui ecrivit à sa premiere Station en lui faisant de nouveaux Serments ; Madame Brillon croyant d'après cette premiere demarche que sa dette etait assurée, ecrivit. souvent à L'ambassadeur, il repondit d'abord, ensuite Les reponses S'eloignerent, ensuite il ne fit plus aucunes reponses aux Lettres de Madame Brillon, et n'en fit même Qu'une très courte au placet Le plus touchant que cette dame et sa famille Lui adresserent dans leur detresse, La Dame Brillon apprit dans ce tems par Monsieur Le Veillard dont le temoignage peut faire foi, que ce n'etoit pas faute de tems de la part du dit Benjamin puisqu'il avoit le Loisir de courtirer au moins deux Jolies femmes par jour dans ses moments de disette ; elle pria Monsieur Le Veillard de lui rappeler ce qu'il lui devoit et de L'engager à suspendre ses galanteries un quart d'heure tous Les quinze jours et payer petit à petit Les arerages du Fonds qu'il doit à Madame Brillon, Le dit Benjamin s'avoua coupable, mais ne paya rien ; La Dame Brillon poussée à bout par La recidive des torts de son adversaire s'est determinée à se pourvoir devant vous A ces Causes requiert La Suppliante que le dit Messire Benjamin Franklin soit condamné envers elle à tous depens, dommages, et interets qu'il vous plaira fixer relativement aux Faits exposés.

Nous : oui m° D'orengo, pour la dame Brillon, et Maitre Condu nommé d'office pour Messire Franklin ; Le quel nous a demandé du tems pour avoir des instructions de sa partie, leur avons donné acte de leurs dires et requisitions, ce faisant avons accordé un moi de delay à La partie de M° Condu, et cependant attendu que les plaintes faites par la partie d'orengo nous paraissent infiniment justes et Equitables, condamnons provisoirement Le dit Franklin à ecire dans Les vingt quatre heures de la significations du present arrêt une premiere Lettre Longue, où il demandera de L'indulgence pour ses fautes passées, et six Lettres plus courtes (Les sujets à son choix) et pour les quelles lui accordons six mois depens réservés.

A Nice Le 20 Mars 1782. Signés Le Comte de Marié premier president, Le Comte trinquery de St. Antonin 2° president, Langosco, d'Oresti, Reynardy, reyberti, roubiony, Bataglini, macarani, Leotardy, Caravadosy, Senateurs. Collationé Conforme à l'original.

Crespeaux de Piscatory Greffrez.

—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 116.*

Voici, ma très cher Amie, une de mes Plaisanteries serieuses, ou sourdes, que je vous envoie, esperant qu'elle pourra peutêtre vous amuser un peu.

Au quel cas, vous me recompenserez en me donnant, je n'ose dire un Baiser, car les vôtres sont trop précieux, & vous en êtes trop chiche; mais vous me jouerez un Noël & l'excellent Marche des Insurgents.—

B. F.

PASSY, March 31, 84.

TO MADAME BRILLON.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 45, No. 180.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

May the 6th, 1781.

Your dear delightful letter made me most exceedingly happy; particularly your account of yourself as it proves that you are in good spirits & pleased with your present situation: your dialogue with the Gout is written with your own cheerful pleasantry & la belle et la mauvaise jambe recalls to my mind those happy hours we once past in your society where we were never amused without learning some useful truth, & where I first acquired a taste pour la conversation badinante et reflechie.

It is long since I have written to my ever valued friend, but the difficulty I find in conveying my letters safe to Passy is the only motive for my silence, strange that I should be under the necessity of concealing from the world, a correspondence which it is the pride & glory of my heart to maintain. Etc.—UNSIGNED.

From Miss G. Shipley.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 22, No. 8.

MADRID, 9th July, 1784.

Dear Sir:

———— The little works you gave me will soon appear in a spanish Dress. If they lose by the change of costume I can assure you that it will not be the fault of the Translator who wishes to preserve the true sense spirit & simplicity of the Original. Etc.

Your Exc. y' Obliged & Most Humble

Serv^t

WM. CARMICHAEL.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 32, No. 51.

Muy S^r mio. Hé recibido la collección de obras miscelánias publicadas por V^s junto con su apreciable Carta de 9 de Junio anterior, y la advertencia á los emigrantes á los Estados unidos de America: todo por mano de mi amigo el S^r. Carmichael. Etc.

———— su atento serv^{or}

EL CONDE DE CAMPOMANES

MADRID, 26 de Julio de 1784.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 32, No. 63.

DOVER, Saturday 28, Augst, 1784.Dear & Hon^d: Sir

After a very disagreeable Passage, which lasted from 8 last Night to 8 this Morning, we arrived here safe. I was sick the whole Passage—I think more so than in either going or returning from America. Mais comme en toutes Choses, “il faut toujours regarder *la Belle Jambe*,”—I flatter myself with the Notion that it will prove a *Crise salutaire*, as Mesmers stiles it;—& which *you* Doctors have decided *as fatale*, or very near it. Etc.

With the sincerest affection and Gratitude, I am ever, Hon^d Sir,
Your dutiful Grandson

W. T. FRANKLIN.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 32, No. 95.

LONDON, 12. Oct. 1784.

Dear & Hon^d Sir:

————— I gave M^{rs} Sargent several pieces of your Writing, who was infinitely pleased with them, & thinks the Dialogue with Mad^e la Goute, ought to be publish'd for the Benefit of Mankind. Etc.

Your most dutiful & affect^e Grandson

W. T. FRANKLIN.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 32, No. 133.

————— Accept my thanks for the pieces you sent me, every-thing written by you is valuable to me. I have lately had the good fortune to meet with a pretty good likeness of you in profile, done at Paris.

With every sentiment of gratitude & respect,
I have the honor to be

Most Dear Sir

Your Obliged & affectionate Humble Serv^t

AMELIA BARRY.

PISA, 10th Dec^r, 1784.*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 32, No. 202.*CHILBOLTON, Nov^r 13th, 1786.

————— I have particularly to thank you for “The art of procuring pleasant Dreams” indeed it flatter'd me exceedingly that you should employ so much of your precious time in complying with my request, but where do you read that Methusalah slept in the open air? I have searched the Bible in vain to find it. Etc.

Affectionately yours,

C. L. SHIPLEY.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 34, No. 167.

Count sarsfield hoped to receive to-day the collection of some of those little pieces which mr. franklin had promised to him & which he had forgot yesterday.

he cannot help writing again about them to mr. franklin. he is so much the more impatient of receiving them that he is very near his departure for the Hague he desires mr. franklin never to forget his most sincere and devoted attachment.

friday ye 5th at night.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 43, No. 232.

ANECDOTE.

The intended speech for the opening of the first Session of the present Parliament viz. Nov^r 29, 1774.

My Lords and Gentlemen :

It gives me much concern that I am obliged at the opening of this Parliament to inform you that none of the measures w^{ch} I adopted upon the advice of my late Parl^t in respect to the disturbances of my American colonies have produced those salutary effects, w^{ch} relying upon the supposed wisdom of their deliberations I had been induced to expect. I therefore sent that Parl^t apacking rather abruptly, & have called you in their place to pick a little advice out of your wise heads upon some matters of the greatest weight & importance relating to a sort of Crusade that I have upon my hands. I must needs tell you that the business if you choose to undertake it for me will be a seven or ten years job at least. You must know then that my ministers have put me upon a project to undertake the reduction of the whole continent of North America to unconditional submission. They w^d have persuaded me to coax you into this project by representing it to you as a matter very easily to be done in a twinkling, and to make you believe that my subjects in America whom you have always hitherto considered as brave men are no better than a wretched pack of cowardly run a ways, & that 500 men with whips w^d make them all dance to the tune of Yankey Doodle ; but I w^d tell you no such thing because I am very sure if you meddle with it that you will find it a very different sort of business.

Now Gentlemen of the House of Commons I give you this fair notice for yourselves & your Constituents. If you undertake this job, it will cost you at the least farthing a good round sum of 40 or 50 millions ; 40 or 50 thousands of your Constituents will get knocked on the head and then you are to consider what the rest of you will be gainers by the bargain even if you succeed. The trade of a ruined & desolated Country is always inconsiderable, its revenues trifling ; the expence of subjecting & retaining it in subjection certain & inevitable. On the other side sh^d you prove unsuccessfull, sh^d that connexion w^{ch} we wish most ardently to maintain be dissolved, sh^d my ministers exhaust

your treasures & waste the blood of your Countrymen in vain will they not deliver you weak & defenceless to your natural enemies.

You must know this is not the first time that the Serpent has been whispering into my ear, Tax America. Cost what it will, make them your heavers of wood & drawers of water. Let them feel that your little finger is thicker than the loins of all your ancestors. But I was wiser than all that, I sent to L^d Rockingham & the advice that he gave me was this, not to burn my fingers in the business, that it was ten to one against our making any hand of it at all, that they were not worth shearing & at best that we sh^d raise a cursed outcry & get but little wool. I shall remember his last advice to me as long as I live. Speak good words to them and they will be thy servants for ever.

And now my Lords and Gentlemen

I have stated the whole matter fairly & squarely before you. It is your own business, and if you are not content as you are, look to the rest for yourselves. But if I were to give you a word of advice it should be to remind you of the Italian epitaph upon a poor fool that kill'd himself with quacking

Stava ben, per star meglio, sto qui.

that is to say. I was well, I would be better, I took Physick and died.

UNSIGNED.

Marked on the reverse side of the last sheet :

D. Hartley.

October 3, '86.

The Franklin Papers, Vol. 44, No. 12.

My dearest sir :

I am sure I shall tell you something which you will have no pleasure in repeating again, when I inform you that L^d Chatham is very ill indeed. Alarming symptoms have appeared, and no likelihood of his getting rid of them, as he grows weaker every day. This intelligence is fresh from Hayes, where he now is. As I am *afraid* this great man is dying, I think it proper to give you what I recollected in his short speech on the 7th of April; for short it was, and appeared as the mere throwing down of the gauntlet; reserving himself wholly for reply to the Duke of Richmond. He said, he

“ Was ill, but glad he was not in his grave when he heard of giving independence. The counsel dastardly and pusillanimous. Was there no middle way? Could not be said, while country ruined by unretracted error. Was not then for making a rod to — whip our own backs.

“ Would never put his hands to the back of bonds for signing away America; or call princes to the Committee. America their birthright: it was once here: under a prince of house of Brunswick, how came it gone? Feared there was something *rotten* near the throne; yet did not mean ministers places.

"Our case bad enough, but wished he could see daylight in the proposition. France had taken our trade our fairest flower, and it was saying to France; insult us, take all we have, but don't make war with us. Did not indeed know the means [had such as we had, we must use them]: but if we must die, would die decently. Had stood irruptions of Danes and of Normans, of Armada & Scotch rebels. Would not then extinguish and put out the glories of that throne (pointing to it).

"Knew he should be favorably interpreted:—whatever else he was thought, should be thought sincere."

These are all the expressions that have occurred to me; and if a variation was observed by others, I have inserted it. I suppose you know that the debate-writers for the newspapers are seldom very exact: Indeed they are low people, hear indistinctly, and know neither the history of men, parties, or *opinions*; and therefore are always blundering. As to the order of sentences it cannot be expected that I should preserve it, but I have reported as faithfully as I could. His voice was often low and did not then reach the bar. The Duke of Richmond (who by the by is greatly improved, and will make a remarkable figure in this country, having much English stuff in him, and though not a soaring mind, yet very capable of business and detail, which he will conduct with industry, honor & courage), the Duke of Richmond I say, spoke pretty well in reply, but it was rather commonplace, and what had chiefly fallen from him in former debates. There was a little harshness & sternness in it, which he cannot always keep under even to his domestics, but on the whole it was neither bitter nor formidable. I had observed Lord Chatham shifting his crutch from one hand into the other once or twice, but did not observe that he made any exertion to get any thing out of his pocket, which they tell me was the case (feeling for a handkerchief with a tug;) but on a sudden he disappeared, and was carried out of the house without sense, and like a corpse; and did not recover for almost an hour. He looked very ill at coming in at first; but did not speak so feebly as on the 30th of May, 1777, when he told L^d S— to be prepared for the worst, for he did not know what might happen. In July or August last he fell off his horse in a fit, but recovered so as to go through much business in the beginning of the sessions. I think about fifteen or twenty voices cried out after the bustle was over, go on, go on; at which I was hurt; and they *told me* the Duke of Richmond spoke of being obliged to attend his militia; which is possible enough. When L^d Chatham was told by D^r Addington, that the Rockinghams said, the Duke of Richmond had killed him: "Another time," said Lord Chatham, sternly and firmly.

April 8th: L^d Shelburne came to the house and resumed the debate; and made a prodigious impression upon the Duke of Richmond; who

really spoke his heart in the compliments he paid; and certainly it was a prodigious speech. Some trick and play there was in it; or as the Duke of R. called them "the honest arts of eloquence, for they were honest, he said;" but on the whole a monstrous deal of comprehension, reading, and real solid eloquence; too rapid and sudden however to be always neat and without expletives. I shall trouble you with none of it except what is material to you as an American and negotiator, and to save him from mis-interpretation, which has been more ignorantly than industriously used, though some of the latter kind has taken place in the *abuse* brought against him.

"Man creature of regulation; is what his government makes him. A declaration of independence would acquit America of thinking as English men; would make separate interests, competition and hatred. Already asked for Canada, Florida and Scotia; and then to follow fishery and islands. Much property lost by it to individuals. A vast weapon put into hands of congress; soon make minority into majority. Would now give it *for nothing*; for nothing said in return to the offer, but that they won't thank you for it. Not a child's play with diadems, to toss away a diadem, and hope to have it back again improved. Many of congress-men wished to serve their community; those of elevated minds would wish (as they ought) to have elevated stations. Was sure, however, the union would be again; and the name of Englishmen last, when that of France was rotten. France meant to dupe one and hurt both. Now thirteen republics; republics peaceful: would pay their first quotas easily, as in the scrip, but third and fourth payments would drag heavily. Prince Maurice built a citadel at Groningen to enforce payment of quotas. (There he said something about an agrarian law being as natural to a republic, as entails to a monarchy; but I forget the application.)

"Wished none of the commissioners sent: if sent, sent with view to be refused. Ought to do like bungling physicians: after trying many things, try nothing; see what nature would do, nature enough in this case. Leave them alone: they will soon find what they have lost, and in two or three years be for sending commissioners here.

"As to France & Spain most all despair: England had her same people, same private wealth, if properly taken care of and confidence to draw it forth from its hoardings. If we grown old, France grown old too. France & Spain vulnerable.

"Though lords despond, those who know frivolousness of French won't despond, not women even, who do know it. France had great individuals, so had falling Rome; but nation refined in nothing but in the art of making court: This the view of all.

"Rupture with France not instant; long seen; why then surprised; why not so before? Had low spirits at times himself; men in despond-

ence he knew had not right judgments. We must appeal to the public; call out religion and freedom; give men something to fight for; (The present a war of slavery) and follow a directing public.

"In 1672 Holland in a worse state; & offered to submit to Lewis, and only Amsterdam firm. De Witz, like all other great men failed in not knowing the extent of folly; never thought Charles would let them go; yet Charles did. But still De Witz's maxim was, no country ought ever to give up one point of justice or reason, but oppose it from first. De Witz not only said, but did; visited the fleet, made infinite exertions, and was torn in pieces repeating the ode

"Justum and tenacem propositi etc.

"Not true that Philip and Elizabeth accomodated to each other. As fast as one assisted Holland, the other assisted Ireland; and Armada was *forced* to delay, because Walsingham, Gresham & Sutton borrowed Genoese bank money that was to arm it. Here was stock-jobbing, and yet cost only 40,000. Wished these times produced a Walsingham, and merchants like Gresham. Yet still some spirit to his knowledge and did not speak of mountains and mice.

"If this point given up, should be ashamed of London, still more of abroad; believed should retire to the country. If danger followed him, would do as a traveller would, who found himself at a tavern where a company of gentlemen were attacked by ruffians; without interest, would take his share.

"But am asked a question: Must we fight all three? Will answer distinctly; think need only fight two of them; but if necessary, yes, fight the three.

"On the whole, wished not to be replied to on the spot; begged them (the Buckingham) to take time, and weigh. He knew their worth. His opinions not court opinions: but respected their unspotted characters and hoped *their* good intentions would not aid the little cunning of others to ruin the country. Should unite against ministers: Not to reap seed of *their* sowing, but have reaping of seed of their own sowing.

Then followed a great variety of other matters relative to ministry and their conduct.

He spoke two hours, besides a reply; and was not flat for a moment. In his beginnings he is often flat, for 5 or 6 minutes, though *wonderfully* improved.

He explained the expression of Lord Chatham's not knowing the means. But I wonder the Duke of R. did not talk of the instance of irruptions by Danes and Normans, as contrary to the case to be proved. Indeed the Danes were finally repelled and Norman line compromised, and in each case the Kings were obliged to reside in their conquests; but the instances certainly very awkward.

No news that I can communicate. The King and Queen will be at

Portsmouth on Friday. The Irish bills of course will not pass, ministry not being with them. Gov^r. Johnstone had great hopes at going out, but they have just heard here that America is not much inclined to negotiation, they say. I think they tell us W. Hartley makes the 20th ambassador you have had. I am very glad the first time I saw my friend, that I had *no* connections; and the second time that I scarcely shewed an inclination to *hear* what, if I had been sent by my connections, I *ought* to have heard.

I think if Lord Chatham had remained well, that a change of ministers would not have been distant; for they know that he minds measures more than men, and rather has a turn to take care of national grandeur than national liberty, farther than as the latter assists the former; all which is in a great degree true. Under him therefore they thought they could pension their creatures with sinecure places, leaving him the general direction.

Upon a conversation this morning with Col. B., I find that absentees will at first be just as safe as inhabitants, personal care and exertion excepted, and therefore content myself with getting a letter to *our* governor, strongly desiring him to recommend our property to protection of the conqueror, which recommendation he knows by experience will be attended to. But as I wish to have two securities where I think them possible, I shall beg the favor of you to get the same thing mentioned to the parties concerned on your side, if you think it proper; but as you may not think it proper, to make the refusal easy and to prevent improper communication being expected I hope you will never mention to me in *any* way, the part you may take. Our parish is that of St. James: I have a brother named Charles on the spot. As to our connections, they are rank whig and American. I know you have nobleness enough to excuse this application; and consider it as not made wholly on my part, but for the family. I am as ever, my dearest sir, your most devoted, affectionate and grateful

Dr. P. & Dr. P^s.

have had a correspondence upon the latter's metaphysical writings, which will probably be soon published, unless the distraction of the times should withdraw attention to such subjects I have had some papers for the Duke De [Piece torn out of the paper.] by me, but they are still in their old state, and I have not had leisure to prepare them for him.—

April 28, 1778.

I dare say you have many such voluminous correspondents as myself: but you see how my pen runs to you.—*The Franklin Papers, Vol. 9, No. 93.*

FRANKLIN'S BAGATELLES.

The American Philosophical Society is the owner of seventy-six folio volumes of the papers of Benjamin Franklin. Franklin by his will left all his books, manuscripts and papers to his grandson, William Temple Franklin. Bigelow, in his *Life of Franklin*, prints the will (Vol. 3, p. 476) and (p. 466) a letter from William Temple Franklin, dated Philadelphia, May 22, 1790, to M. Le Veillard, of Paris, the intimate friend of Franklin, advising him of his grandfather's bequest. Later Temple Franklin returned to Europe, living in London and Paris, and dying in London in 1823, and by his will leaving to his friend, Charles Fox, of Philadelphia, all the Franklin papers in this country. These papers had been for many years stored in the barn at Mr. Fox's country seat at Champlost, near Philadelphia. His son presented them to the Philosophical Society some sixty years ago, and here they have been kept ever since.

Many of them were bound up in a pretty rough way, each volume prefaced with a rough alphabetical reference list; many of them were left in the original packages, bundles with little other than a crude chronological order, until quite recently our librarian, Dr. Hays, had them mounted and bound and lettered. Little systematic use has been made of them, but now it is proposed to calendar them, and to print these calendars, as the Lee, Weedon and Greene papers of this Society have been printed by the Society, so that students may know what they contain, and be able to refer to them directly or through the very competent staff of the Library of this Society. To their aid is due the examination of them for traces of the "Bagatelles," written by Franklin and printed on his press at Passy, and I submit these rough notes as showing the variety, extent and importance of this collection. William Temple Franklin printed in the fifth volume of his grandfather's works (second edition, London: Colburn, 1819), in the second volume of the *Posthumous and Other Writings*, under the head of "Bagatelles" (Sec. 3, pp. 216 to 298), the following headnote: "The letters, essays, etc., contained in this section were chiefly written by Dr. Franklin for the amusement of his intimate society in London and Paris, and were by himself actually collected in a small portfolio, endorsed as above. Several of the pieces were either originally written in French, or afterwards translated by him into that language by way of exercise." Then follow:

1. The Levee.
2. Proposed New Version of the Bible.
3. Apologue (written, says a footnote, at the period of and in allusion to the claims of the American Royalists on the British Government).
4. To Miss Georgianna Shipley, dated London, September 26, 1772, with an epitaph on her American squirrel.
5. The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams.
6. The Ephemera, an Emblem of Human Life (written in 1778, to Mme. Brillon, of Passy).
7. The Whistle (to Mme. Brillon, Passy, November 10, 1779).
8. The Petition of the Left Hand.
9. The Handsome and Deformed Leg.
10. Morals of Chess.
11. Conte (with a translation), a Tale.
12. Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout (dated midnight, October 22, 1780).
13. To Mme. Helvetius, at Auteuil.
14. À Madame Helvetius (in French, with a translation into English).
15. Très humble Requete Présentée a Madame Helvétius par ses Chats (with translation).
16. À M. L'Abbé de la Roch, à Auteuil (with translation).
17. À M. L'Abbé Morellet, Passy (with translation).

In Vol. 1, p. 410, of *The Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Franklin*, Philadelphia, 1818, published by William Duane, is the following from the Introduction to the *Life and Works*, by his grandson, William Temple Franklin: "Notwithstanding Dr. Franklin's various and important occupations, he occasionally amused himself in composing and printing, by means of a small set of types and a press he had in his house, several of his light essays, 'Bagatelles,' or jeux d'esprit, written chiefly for the amusement of his intimate friends." Among these were the supplement to the *Boston Chronicle* of March 17, 1782, which is reprinted; Franklin, in his letter dated Passy, July 7, 1782, enclosed a copy to his friend Mr. Hutton in London. Clearly Franklin took care that his political satires should be read far beyond the circle of his friends in Paris, and they were spread broadcast in the newspapers.

Ford, in the Introduction to his *Franklin Bibliography*, says: "Sent in 1776 by the Congress to France, his pen was soon at

work, not merely on the routine addresses, memorials and letters intended to persuade the French Government or inform that at home, but in satires on the English methods of conducting the war, use of the Indians, Hessians, etc.; in exposing the financial straits and impending ruin of that country, and in urging the advantage of loans to America; while there is good authority for ascribing to him the partial editing of a periodical which was intended to influence the French people in favor of the American cause, and prepare them for the treaties of amity and alliance to which Franklin eventually set his name. It was during his nine years' service in France that he also wrote most of what have been since known as the 'Bagatelles'—little essays on many subjects, composed for the amusement of 'la société choisie de Franklin.' They were written in his happiest vein, fifteen or twenty copies printed on his private press at his home in Passy for the little circle for whom they were intended." A little later Mr. Ford says: "The writings of Franklin will never be complete. His known or recognizable periodicals and contributions to periodicals, not in the two great collections of his writings [no doubt Mr. Ford refers to Sparks and Bigelow], would still only be a portion, though a large one, of what he wrote."

Now if so industrious a collector as Mr. Ford thus writes of Franklin's "Bagatelles," it must be that he thought research as to their number and time of printing was exhausted. Yet the American Philosophical Society, founded by Franklin and his associates of the Junto, is to-day in the possession of the largest collection of his papers, and we are naturally interested in trying to answer these questions: When and where did Franklin write his "Bagatelles"? How many copies of each did he print, and what has become of them? It is customary to evade answering such inquiries by saying that Franklin was careless as to his papers, yet the large collection, over seventy great folio volumes, of Franklin Papers in the Library of the Philosophical Society, shows that he at least knew the value of the letters addressed to him, and in this collection they are preserved. Then, too, it is customary to charge William Temple Franklin with indifference to his grandfather's memory and fame, yet Mr. Stevens rescued from oblivion and destruction a great mass of papers, now the property of the United States, and carefully preserved in the Department of State.

Prof. McMaster, in the fifth volume of his history, pp. 294-297,

gives a graphic account of the bitter feud over William Temple Franklin, and his tardy publication of the works of his illustrious grandfather: "Shortly after Franklin's papers, under his will and after his death in 1790, came into the possession of William Temple Franklin, the latter announced the publication, called for those that were scattered in other hands, and yet allowed twenty-seven years to pass before he fulfilled his promise. Meanwhile bookmakers, reviewers and newspaper critics, weary at the delay, abused him roundly. In those days if anything went wrong in our country, and the reason was not easy to find, it was customary to ascribe the evil to the action of Great Britain. Why the promised edition of Franklin's writings was not forthcoming, though a decade and more had passed since his death, was unaccountable. It must therefore be due to the malignity of Great Britain, to whom Temple Franklin was now openly accused of having sold himself. The charge was first made by the *National Intelligencer*, a Jeffersonian newspaper published in Washington. The public, said the editor, is tired with waiting for the appearance of Dr. Franklin's works. Something is wrong. An ugly rumor is afloat that the great man's papers will never be published. It is time for his descendants to explain. No explanation was made, whereupon the *National Intelligencer* returned to the charge in 1804. Silence, said the editor, had given the charge increased weight. More than eight years ago assurances were given repeatedly that an edition was to appear at the same time in Europe and America. Why has it not appeared? Some say because Mr. Temple Franklin sold his copyright sum to a London bookseller, who in turn sold it for a much greater sum to the British Government, in order that the papers might be suppressed. This plain statement seems to have had some effect, for the next year William Duane, editor of the *Aurora*, and husband of the widow of Benjamin Franklin Bache, advertised for subscriptions to a three-volume edition of Franklin's works; but even this dragged on for thirteen years, when, instead of three, six volumes had been issued. The first volume appeared in 1808; the last in 1818. The charge of suppressing once started in this country crossed the Atlantic, and in 1806 appeared in the preface to a three-volume edition of Franklin's writings, edited by his old friend, Benjamin Vaughan, at London, the preface dated April 7, 1806. When, says Vaughan, Temple Franklin thought his manuscript ready for the press, he offered it to the London printers, but his

terms were too high. The printers demurred, and nothing more has been heard of the offer. 'The reason is plain: The proprietor, it seems, has found a bidder of a different description in some emissary of Government, whose object is to withhold the manuscripts from the world, not to benefit it by their publication, and they were either passed into other hands or the person to whom they were bequeathed received a remuneration for suppressing them.' *The Edinburgh Review* (July, 1806) sifted, denied and pronounced the accusation foolish. But it again crossed the Atlantic, and was once more set afloat by the *American Citizen*, a newspaper published in New York. 'William Temple Franklin,' said the writer, 'without shame, without remorse, mean and mercenary, has sold the sacred deposit committed to his care by Dr. Franklin to the British Government. Franklin's works are lost to the world forever.' Idle as the story was, it would not down, but was next taken up by a Paris journal called *The Argus*, or *London Review* (March 28, 1807), in which it is quite likely the slander for the first time reached the eyes of Temple Franklin. He promptly branded the charge as false, the editor accepted his statement as final, the *London Chronicle* republished it, and through this channel the denial made its way back to the United States, where respectable journals reprinted it and respectable men went on disbelieving it, till Franklin began to issue his volumes in 1817. Even then there were some who remained unconvinced, and as late as 1829 it was reiterated by the publication of Jefferson's *Anas*. Such delay in the case of most men would have been fatal to the success of the book, but nothing could dim the popular interest in Franklin the world over. Since his death in 1790 there had been published twenty-eight editions of such of his writings as could be collected, thirty-three editions of his life in English and thirteen in French, some twenty editions of *Father Abraham's Speech* and *The Way to Wealth*, besides innumerable reprints of his famous tracts and pamphlets. The writings of no other American were so scattered over Europe. Save Irving and Cooper, no other American writer had yet approached him in fame, even in England."

Thus many of Franklin's own writings were preserved by William Temple Franklin and printed in his editions of Franklin's works, and after many years of oblivion, they were rescued by Mr. Stevens and sold by him to the Government of the United States.

In that collection there are the original manuscripts of two of the "Bagatelles;" there are others in the American Philosophical Society, reproduced in the earlier pages of this paper. With these exceptions, nothing is known of the fate of the original manuscripts of the others of this interesting series of Franklin's papers.

Sparks prints in the second volume of his works of Franklin seventeen of them, the first of them, *The Levee*, with a note by William Temple Franklin: "This was one of several articles written by Franklin for the amusement of his friends, and found in a portfolio endorsed 'Bagatelles.'"

Bigelow prints, in Vol. 6 of his works of Franklin, *The Ephemera, an Emblem of Human Life*, addressed to Mme. Brillon; *The Whistle*, addressed to Mme. Brillon, and others of these "Bagatelles." There is an original draft of part of the second, in Franklin's handwriting, in Vol. 50 of the Franklin Papers in the Philosophical Society's collection.

Ford, in his Bibliography, says: "Of the 'Bagatelles' printed by Franklin on the press which he set up in his house at Passy, only one, so far as I can learn, No. 345 [the fictitious supplement to the *Boston Chronicle*], has been preserved, and so my authority for giving such editions of *The Ephemera*, *The Whistle*, *the Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout*, and *Advice to Those Who Would Remove to America*, is derived from the statement of the editor of *The Way to Wealth*, Paris, 1795."

Mr. Ford's best contribution is his long list of reproductions of these "Bagatelles," e. g., *The Whistle*, in Burlington in 1792, at Paris in 1795, Newcastle, 1810 and 1818; Paris, 1831. As to his statement that only one original copy of any of the "Bagatelles" is known, it may be said that the large and little known collection of the Philosophical Society has the printed originals of *La Belle et la Mauvaise Jambe*, Passy, 1779, one of the "Bagatelles," and of the supplement to the *Boston Chronicle*, in two editions, one with, the other without the John Paul Jones letter. This is the famous skit in which there is a pretended proclamation by the British offering rewards for scalps of whites; it is an answer to a similar production issued in England, only with the parts reversed; it had a great vogue, and was reproduced throughout Europe and America, just as was Franklin's pretended letter of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel. Undoubtedly these were both prepared with a view of influ-

encing contemporary European opinion in favor of the American colonies in their struggle for independence, and both were copied in the innumerable newspapers and news-letters issued in Holland and Brussels and throughout Europe.

Parton, in his *Franklin*, says, at p. 235 of Vol. 2: "To promote the loan ordered by Congress, Franklin wrote an ingenious piece, which he caused to be translated into Dutch, French, Spanish and Italian, and sent to the moneyed capitals of Europe;" and again, another "money article he wrote at this time, entitled 'A Catechism Relative to the English National Debt.'" "Another piece of Franklin's fun bears date at this time, 'A Dialogue between Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Saxony and America.'" Parton also says: "It was for Mme. Brillon that he wrote the letter with the story of paying too dear for *The Whistle* and his amusing piece upon *The Ephemera*, which was copied and recopied so often in Paris that it became as well known as though published. *The Petition of the Left Hand*, *The Handsome and Deformed Leg*, *Morals of Chess*, *Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout*, and other witty effusions of this period were written for the amusement of the circle that met twice a week at Mme. Brillon's. These pieces were probably composed in English by Franklin and translated into French by some member of the company." Parton says: "In his house at Passy Franklin had a small printing press and fonts of type, with which he printed copies of the 'Bagatelles.'" "

Ford, in his *Many-sided Franklin* (p. 218), says: "In his own home he (Franklin) set up a press and types, all of which he or his servants cast." In Bigelow's Works, Vol. 6, p. 474, there is a letter from Franklin of October 29, 1779, to Fizeaux and Grand, saying "eight boxes of printing characters are sent from London to your care for me," and directing that they be insured for £100, via Rouen. Ford says: "These printing materials Franklin brought with him to America, on his return from France, and used them to establish his grandson, B. F. Bache, in business as a printer." Bigelow, in his *Life of Franklin*, Vol. 3, pp. 375*b* and *c*, prints Franklin's certificate, dated Philadelphia, February 25, 1786, that "the printing types with which he furnished Mr. Francis Child, contained in fifteen boxes, marked B. F., Nos. 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 38, 53, 54, 59, 60, were made in my house at Passy, by my servants, for my use, and were never

the property of any European letter founder, manufacturer or merchant whatsoever." Bigelow also gives at the same place a translation of a letter from Mme. Helvetius to Franklin, dated July, 1787, and the original from the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society. In the collection in Washington, the remains of that of William Temple Franklin, rescued by Stevens from oblivion, are the two manuscript "Bagatelles" on *Perfumes* and on *Marriage*; these were reprinted by Stevens in handsome style in London in 1881, copies on vellum were also produced. Henry Stevens fondly imagined that his copy of the supplement to the *Boston Chronicle* was unique, but the collection of the Philosophical Society shows that both Stevens and Ford were ignorant of the extent of the Franklin papers preserved here, now in process of careful examination, and likely to add to the material for a better knowledge of Franklin's literary activity.

Even Mr. Ford's exhaustive Bibliography, as the author admits, does not give us all that Franklin wrote and printed, nor all of the numerous republications. Franklin himself, it is said, corrected the proofs of Vaughan's edition of his works, printed in London in 1779, but after that date he wrote and printed many of his cleverest skits. In a book published in Paris in 1818, *Correspondence Secrète*, Franklin, in a letter to Mrs. Thompson, dated Paris, February 8, 1777, speaks of "Ces Bagatelles," so it must have been even then a favorite word with him. In the same volume there is a note to the "Bagatelle," *Visite aux Champs Elysée*, addressed to Mme. Helvetius: "Cette lettre a été écrite en français par Franklin."

The extent of Franklin's knowledge of how to speak and write French accurately has frequently been discussed, and he certainly availed himself of a good deal of license in his pretended Letter from the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, although of course the joke was a good deal heightened by pretending that that German Prince was no better master of the French language than Franklin. It is of this skit that Franklin wrote, on May 1, 1777, to John Winthrop (the Professor of Natural History in Harvard): "I send enclosed one of the many satires that have appeared on this occasion"—*i. e.*, the conduct of those Princes of Germany who have sold the blood of their people to Great Britain to be used in opposing the Americans in their effort to achieve their independence. It is a curious coincidence that in this

satire Franklin makes the Count de Schaumburg (his pseudonym for the hereditary Prince of Hesse) write to Baron Hohendorff, commanding the Hessian troops in America, and that among the letters addressed to Franklin, and preserved in the large collection of his papers in the Philosophical Society, is one dated February 25, 1778 (No. 130, Vol. 8), from C. M. Hillegas, at York Town, introducing Baron de Holtendorff, and later one from Baron Holtendorff, dated Paris, September 11, 1779, asking for an interview.

It is a good answer to the charge that Franklin was careless as to his papers, that he preserved apparently everything addressed to him and everybody wrote to him. This collection is now being carefully indexed, so that hereafter there may be still more thorough knowledge of Franklin's busy life.

Stevens, in his pamphlet on his collection sold to the United States Government, says that Franklin's essays were printed in a pirated edition by Buisson in Paris in 1791, and in London in 1793 by Parsons in one volume, and by Robinson in two, both from the French of Buisson, which was itself a translation from Franklin's originals. It is hard to find out what became of these. Were they used by Castera in his edition of Franklin's writings, published by Buisson in Paris in 1797, or did they share the fate of the originals used, it is charged, by William Temple Franklin as "printer's copy" for his edition, published in London in 1817, in an 8vo edition in six volumes, and a quarto edition in three volumes, and by Duane in Philadelphia in 1818 in six volumes 8vo? Both Temple Franklin and Duane must have had access to the originals, and yet what survived of the Temple Franklin collection, which passed through Stevens to the library of the State Department at Washington, contains only two manuscript "Bagatelles," although Stevens, in his pamphlet description, says his collection contains original manuscripts by Franklin, his essays, miscellaneous writings, squibs, bagatelles, etc.; but Stevens was mistaken in supposing that his was a unique copy of the pretended supplement to the *Boston Chronicle*, and he ignored or was ignorant of the copies of Franklin's "Bagatelles" in New York and Philadelphia. Still it remains a mystery yet unsolved as to what became of most of the originals, or of the few copies printed on Franklin's Passy press. Even if only enough, ten or a dozen, were all that he printed for his friends there, it seems un-

likely that he would have destroyed the originals, or that his friends would have destroyed the printed copies, even then rare enough to be precious.

The republication throughout Europe and America of his political squibs was clearly part of Franklin's constant and successful effort to enlist allies for America, and to increase the hostility to England in France and Spain, in Holland and Germany, and in England itself. It is a question whether Franklin included in his "Bagatelles" the political squibs which he fired with such telling effect among the enemies of his country, and with such success in making friends for it. His experience in filling his newspaper and his almanac with clever *jeux d'esprit* stood him in good stead in Paris, and he reproduced many of them for the amusement of his French friends, who were ready to accept with delight everything that he printed. It would be of interest to discover somewhere a complete list of his "Bagatelles," and to learn in what succession they were written, and how many were printed, to whom they were given, and what has become of them.

The collection of the Franklin Papers in the Philosophical Society contains original "Bagatelles" in Franklin's handwriting, and translations apparently by M. Brillon, "un savant," and by Mme. Brillon, who calls herself "une femme qui n'est point savante." Then, too, it has innumerable letters from Mme. Brillon and her family, with many discussions over Franklin's French and over the translations. One letter declines a proposal by William Temple Franklin for the hand of one of the Brillon daughters, and next to it is the notice of the wedding of Mdlle. Brillon. The correspondence of Franklin and Mme. Brillon is characteristic alike of the writers and of the time in which they lived, and it shows how readily Franklin took his part in the life of Paris of his day. Sparks was too serious to care for these pleasing trifles, and too solemn to print even Washington's familiar phrases or Franklin's light and incautious wit; later historical students have censured Sparks for his endeavor to give to the great men of our history a sort of classical pose, as if they were not mortals with average human failings. He had access apparently to much material that he did not print, as being below his high standard of historical dignity. Nowadays we are only too anxious to get at these great men as they were in everyday life, and to rescue from oblivion all they said and wrote, even Franklin's most risky and unrestrained

license with his ready pen. Bigelow has labored hard to restore Franklin's Autobiography as he wrote it, and not as it was printed with corrections from the hand of Temple Franklin and his co-laborers in editing it. Ford and McMaster and Fisher have endeavored to set before their readers the real Franklin, and Parton dwells affectionately on his life in Paris, where he was the centre of a group of admirers, who carried their flattery to a point that shocked his sober-minded colleagues.

It was characteristic of Franklin that he used his position as a man of science and as a man of letters to advance the interests of his country, to forward its cause, and to cement that alliance which secured for the American colonies the vast resources of the French Government, its army, its navy, and its representatives, Lafayette, Rochambeau and the many other gallant soldiers and sailors, who both by their deeds and by their writings helped to make the young republic known abroad, and to bring here many of those who have contributed its best elements to our population. The friends of Franklin in Paris included Voltaire, Hume, Turgot, Marmontel, d'Holbach, Le Roy, the Abbés Morellet and La Roche; all these are mentioned in the letter to the last printed in Vol. 5, p. 283, of the edition of his works, London, 1819. Then Mme. Helvetius, Mme. Brillon and a number of other clever women belonged to the little knot of his intimate friends for whom these "Bagatelles" were written. In the voluminous collection of Franklin's Papers in the Library of the American Philosophical Society are evidences of the care with which he preserved his papers. These show the pains he took to have his "Bagatelles" translated into French good enough to withstand the criticism of his French friends, while he no doubt sought in this way to improve his own knowledge and mastery of the French language, so that he could both write and speak it. Thus in Vol. 45, No. 149½, is a draft of a letter, on the right in English, on the left in French, but the latter corrected in red ink in another hand than that of the first draft of the translation; it is dated Passy, November 16, 1779, and is *The Story of the Whistle*, which has passed into the popular use of all reading people of all countries. Under date of April 8, 1784 (Vol. 45, No. 181) is a letter to Mme. Brillon, enclosing copies of "Bagatelles," and his correspondence with her is largely preserved in one of these seventy bulky volumes. Another "Bagatelle," *The Ephemera*, in Vol. 50, No. 39a, is in two manuscript versions in French, perhaps by M.

and Mme. Brillon ; these were apparently carefully studied by Franklin, who noted the variances and chose carefully the version printed at his own press, and afterwards by his grandson, Temple Franklin, in what may be called the authoritative edition of his works. Some of them were printed in Vaughan's London edition of his writings, of which he is said to have corrected the proofs. Some of them were printed in the editions of his writings issued in Paris soon after his death. All of them (with the exception of the two still preserved in manuscript in Washington, and printed by Stevens in London and reprinted in Paris) are in Sparks and Bigelow's editions, and a long list of reproductions fills a good many entries in Ford's Franklin Bibliography.

In his *True Benjamin Franklin*, p. 155, Mr. Fisher says: "He has himself told us of the source of one of his best short essays, *The Ephemera*, a beautiful little allegory, which he wrote to please Mme. Brillon in Paris. In a letter to William Carmichael, of June 17, 1780 (Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*, Vol. 2, p. 509), he describes the circumstances under which it was written, and says that "the thought was partly taken from a little piece of some unknown writer, which I met with fifty years since in a newspaper." And at p. 327 Mr. Fisher says: "For Mme. Brillon Franklin wrote some of his most famous essays, *The Morals of Chess*, *The Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout*, *The Story of the Whistle*, *The Handsome and Deformed Leg*, and the *Petition of the Left Hand*," and he again refers to the letter to Carmichael, in which Franklin writes: "Enclosed I send you the little piece you desire [*The Ephemera*]. To understand it rightly, you should be acquainted with some few circumstances. The person to whom it was addressed is Madame Brillon, a lady of most respectable character and pleasing conversation, mistress of an amiable family in this neighborhood, with which I spend an evening twice in every week. She has, among other elegant accomplishments, that of an excellent musician, and with her daughter, who sings prettily, and some friends who play, she kindly entertains me and my grandson with little concerts, a cup of tea, and a game of chess. I call this *my opera*; for I rarely go to the opera in Paris. The Moulin Joli is a little island in the Seine, about two leagues hence, part of the country seat of another friend, where we visit every summer, and spend a day in the pleasing society of the ingenious, learned and very polite persons who inhabit it. At the time when the letter was written, all con-

versations at Paris were filled with disputes about the music of Gluck and Picini, a German and an Italian musician, who divided the town into violent parties. A friend of this lady having obtained a copy of it, under a promise not to give another, did not observe that promise; so that many have been taken, and it is become as public as such a thing can well be that is not printed; but I could not dream of its being heard of at Madrid [where Carmichael was Secretary to the American Legation while Mr. Jay was Minister there]. The thought was partly taken from a little piece of some unknown writer, which I met with fifty years since in a newspaper, and which the sight of *The Ephemera* brought to my recollection."

It is eminently proper that the Franklin Papers should be cared for in the Society of which he was the founder and the first President, and with which his name is so indissolubly connected; it is the duty of this Society to see that these papers be put into a good condition, that they may be freely used by students. Unluckily, when this gift was made to the Society there were few men who knew how to make the best use of it. The late Mr. Trego, then the Librarian, had this vast and heterogeneous mass of original papers, including an infinite number of letters addressed to Franklin and many important papers belonging to the various phases of his long and active and varied career in science, in local and colonial and national and international affairs, roughly mounted and still more roughly bound in an indefinite and vague sort of chronological order. In the course of years access was so carelessly given that some autograph hunters have ruthlessly cut out signatures and thus defaced valuable original papers. A rough index precedes some of the volumes, but many of them are largely made up of papers that are only described by general headings. Later volumes of papers, long unbound and found merely tied up in the original packages—no doubt by Temple Franklin or Bache or Duane, for some of the frequent removals from Passy to Philadelphia and then from pillar to post, until they finally reached a safe haven of rest in the Library of the Philosophical Society—have been carefully mounted, well ordered and arranged, and bound in a creditable way, so that these are now perfectly accessible and safe for use, under the watchful eye of the present custodian, the Librarian, to whose intelligent care this Society is indebted for the order and preservation of many of the important original papers in our archives. Under his direction,

too, the work of indexing these papers is being carried on, and a printed Calendar will, it is hoped, soon make them available for students and others engaged in historical research; and his assistants, who are expert copyists, will supply perfect transcripts. To their careful handiwork is due the transcription of those of Franklin's "Bagatelles," found in manuscript in his papers, here reproduced as part of this paper. They show the infinite care and the exhaustless industry with which he prepared these papers, as though he anticipated the respect with which to-day everything relating to him is regarded in the country that is so proud of his fame.

The original manuscripts show that Franklin's "Bagatelles" were no inconsidered trifles, but were carefully written in his own good English, were carefully translated into French by competent hands, and that in more than one version, then carefully compared, and the one chosen for printing carefully revised; and this studious and loving care, although hidden from the general eye, no doubt gave them that admirable form which has made them so popular, and has commended them to readers of all nationalities from Franklin's day to our own. It is certainly interesting through these old papers to see just how he worked and wrote and gave a final form to these his lightest writings. These papers show that Franklin, in his letter of April 8, 1784, written at Passy to Mme. Brillon, says that *The Advice to Those Who Wish to go to America*, *Remarks on the Politeness of Savages*, *The Handsome and Deformed Leg* and *The Morals of Chess*, with those he then sent—no doubt *The Ephemera*, *The Story of the Whistle*, *The Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout*—make a complete collection of all his "Bagatelles" printed at Passy. If that be so, what authority had Temple Franklin for the seventeen papers printed by him under the title of "Bagatelles," other than his statement that they were "found in a portfolio, endorsed 'Bagatelles?'" Yet who was better able to speak with authority than Temple Franklin, grandson, literary fellow-worker and testamentary owner?

APPENDIX.

FRANKLIN PAPERS IN THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

- Vols. 1-39—Letters to Dr. Franklin—1735-90.
 Vols. 40-43— “ “ “ “ without date.
 Vol. 44— “ “ “ “ anonymous and without date.
 Vol. 45—Drafts and copies of letters from Dr. Franklin—1738-89.
 Vol. 46—Letters from Dr. Franklin to his wife—1755-74.
 Vols. 47-48—Letters to various persons—1710-91.
 Vol. 49—Papers on subjects of science and politics.
 Vol. 50—Papers by Dr. Franklin on various subjects.
 Vol. 51—Poetry and verses.
 Vol. 52—Miscellaneous papers—1670-1769.
 Georgia papers—1768-75.
 Vols. 53-55—Miscellaneous papers—1770-88.
 Vol. 56— “ “ without date.
 Vol. 57—Memorials, petitions, etc.
 Unnumbered Vol.—Fragments and torn letters.
 “ “ —Scraps, memorials, etc.
 “ “ —Franklin papers: in France—Letters from Franklin.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Letters to Franklin.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Invitations, cards.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Court, marriage, funeral and
 meeting notices, invitations.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Oaths of allegiance, paroles, bonds
 of privateers, passports.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Letters from Franklin—Letters to
 Franklin—Miscellaneous.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Promissory notes, public loans
 and accounts.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Applications for appointments in
 army and navy.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Diplomatic, naval matters, mili-
 tary stores, indemnity.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Prisoners' assistance, to raise
 troops, for civil appointments,
 to settle in America, miscella-
 neous.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Household and personal accounts.
 “ “ “ “ “ “ —Miscellaneous letters in German.
 “ “ “ “ “ England — Notices, invitations, visiting
 cards, notes, business cards.
 “ “ “ “ “ Wills, powers of attorney, indentures, bonds,
 agreements, notes, memoranda, bills, 1728-68.
 “ “ “ “ “ Bills 1769-88, drafts, accounts, cheques, memo-
 randa, bills of lading, public accounts.

Certified acts of Congress, 1776-80.

Several volumes of miscellaneous account-books.

Eight volumes of letters to William Temple Franklin: Vols. 1-7, 1775-90; Vol. 8,
 without date.